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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2128

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NEGATIVE WESTERN, 'PHILISTINE' INFLUENCES CONDEMNED

Sofia SERZHANT in Bulgarian No 2, 1983 pp 35, 36

[Article by Lt Col Ivan Ganchev: "Fashion--Pro or Con"]

[Text] There is hardly anyone, if we exclude children of preschool age, who does not know the word fashion. Latent behind this word is a very widespread phenomenon encompassing the most diverse spheres of life, for fashion is related to psychology, sociology, the social sciences, esthetics etc. Not to mention its commercial significance when its "lawgivers" create and lay down certain models solely for the purpose of making large commercial profits. Fashion enables us to study the psychology of a given society or strata in the society, becomes the subject of special sociological research, inculcates specific esthetic criteria. It is no accident that under its influence, and its influence precisely, that we sometimes fill our homes with objects that would otherwise hardly arrest our attention.

Most likely everyone of us, at least once in our lives, has worn clothing unsuitable for our physical attributes—only because it was in style. Every day we may meet on the streets men and women who, disregarding their age, stubbornly put on fashionable youthful clothing without stopping to think of the ridiculous and sometimes even very pitiful impression they make. Blind subservience to the demands of fashion indicate first and foremost a lack of one's own taste established and based on strong convictions of what is beautiful.

But fashion is far from exhausting its influence solely in the area of clothing. How many times we clutter our homes with unnecessary furniture and objects only because some neighbor or colleague has persuaded us that they are in style and he himself already has them. From this blind imitation and desire to have whatever others have, it is only a step to philistinism and a mania for things. No matter what purpose a given object serves and whether it is needed: what is important is to possess it so as not to be left behind the others. A woman employee with a higher education and with pretensions to culture and modern thinking became fascinated with the fashion of embroidering Gobelin tapestries. In her two-storied house exactly 24 tapestries hung on the walls in tasteless heavy bronzed frames. Moreover, she had "reproduced" with her needle the most insipid and sentimentally melodramatic subjects ever created in this "art."

It is a little strange to see a modern home without books. But there are instances where the books in the home are purchased as a "fashionable" hobby, are painstakingly put away in cardboard boxes, are not taken out or read. As a rule, these are always "rare" books, purchased without any selectivity, the sole condition being that they should be sold through connections, "under the counter." In a few months or a year or two later, these books, painstakingly dusted, make their way to the antiquarian bookshops to bring their temporary owner an agreed-on profit. This is one of the most disgusting manifestations of philistinism because spiritual values, the works of great writers and thinkers, are turned into an object of despicable commercial speculation.

This is only part of the cases where some fashionable hobby turns into its complete opposite. Years ago when the fashion of building summer cottages reached its high point, a number of exurban zones turned into conurbations because huge two- or three-storied houses were built instead of summer cottages. Then began sales of individual stories and sales of parts of lots where new houses etc. sprang up. Until no space was left for trees and flowers in the "areas zoned for summer houses." And in one provincial little city situated at an elevation of about 1500 m above sea level and famous for its fine climate and many sanatoriums and holiday houses, the inhabitants decided that they too would be no exception to the summer-cottage fashion. They began to build their country "residences" on a bare hill with no trees or shrubs, with stony soil, without a drop of water or electricity. What was important, however, was to satisfy the philistine's ambition to be "in step with the fashion." The situation is the same in the buying of personal automobiles. There are quite a few individuals for whom a car is not a necessity but simply a way of investing money and showing off one's personal prosperity. The cars are hardly ever in traffic, the steel plates rust under canvas awnings, and the sidewalks and pedestrian zones in large cities are jammed.

Thus far we have talked about the philistinizing influence of fashion when fascination with it conceals esthetic immaturity, greed, a striving to possess more things, a "good" commercial flair. There is, however, also another aspect, namely the exertion of a definite ideological influence and thought infiltration by means of fashion. Let us recall the fashion, so popular in the West that from there invaded our country, of military-style clothing. Actually, these were exact copies of the uniforms of certain branches of the service of various Western armies, mainly the American and English. Not the slightest details were missing, including emblems, medal ribbons, wound stripes, inscriptions on the sleeves or on the back. Fascination with this kind of clothing indicates the militarization of a society and has as its purpose the implanting of respect and admiration for armies, which are noted for their reactionary character, their aggressiveness and defense of the interests of imperialism. It is all the sadder when such a fashionable infatuation spreads to our country and we see such shirts and jackets on the backs of our boys and girls. Once on a bus a mere stripling, who had not yet reached the age of preconscription military training, proud of the inscription on his back--"Royal Air Force Academy," was ardently explaining to his friend what the traditions of this English military training institution are. Yet the odds are overwhelming that he could hardly tell anything about the history of the Bulgarian People's Army with the same fervor and detail.

The fashion has also sprung up of carrying a gas mask holder or commander's bag instead of a schoolboy's or student's bag; more and more frequently officers' belts are worn with denims and jeans. Usually these strictly official military items are decorated with variegated emblems of Western firms or inscriptions in English that they have written themselves. And since not one of these is sold in stores or stands, let us stop to think where our sons and daughters got them and whether we are not being irresponsible when we encourage their fascination with this fashion.

If anyone has any doubt that fashion also fulfills definite ideological functions, let him stop to think why various elements in the symbolism of Hitlerism have begun to find a place even in ladies' clothing. Why do newspapers and magazines, radio, television and publishing centers in a number of Western countries periodically step up their interest in fascism and in this way create conditions for disseminating modern versions of it? Everything begins very inoffensively--it becomes "fashionable" to own copies of various things, models of a weapon or books of a famous Nazi leader or "mementoes" of some mass murderer who escaped retribution.

When the fashion of wearing crucifixes or medallions with religious motifs becomes widespread, let us realize also that this is not only an inoffensive youthful fad, but also an attempt to exert ideological influence through the means of religion.

To be sure, fashion as a phenomenon with a social, psychological and ideological content has no possibilities of exerting direct ideological influence, suggesting specific ideas or inculcating a world view. Due to its mass dissemination, however, it very readily and imperceptibly prepares the soil for subsequent suggestion. We must, therefore, take a critical attitude towards it and its temporary laws and have firmly established and sound criteria, thanks to which we will take from fashion what is beautiful and useful and cull out what is unnecessary and harmful.

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BULGARIA

BALEV PRAISES LYUDMILA ZHIVKOVA MERITS AT LONDON MEETING

Sofia LITERATURE FRONT in Bulgarian 17 Feb 83 pp 1, 4

[Speech by Milko Balev: "A Bulgarian Star Shining for All Mankind"]

[Text] The book "Lyudmila Zhivkova. Her Many Worlds, New Culture and Beauty, Ideas and Activities," published by the world-famous Pergamon Press, was presented by Comrade Milko Balev at a meeting held at the Bulgarian Embassy in London on 4 February 1983.

The meeting was attended by more than 350 guests. They included Lord Cockfield, secretary of state for trade, Lord Shackelton, chairman of the Council on Trade with Eastern Europe, the mayor of the Kensington District in London, Jeoffrey Nichols, president of the London Chamber of Commerce, Anthony Hoare, secretary of the Council for Trade with Eastern Europe, Sir William (Harpum), chairman of the British Honorary Committee on the Celebration of the 1,300 Anniversary of Bulgaria, Lady (Goronwee-Roberts), widow of the now deceased chairman of the honorary committee, Roy Hughes and Johnson, respectively chairman and secretary of the British-Bulgarian parliamentary group, William Wilson, Peter Temple-Morris and other members of parliament, Alf Lomas, member of the European Parliament, veterans and leaders of the Communist Party of Great Britain, Yusuf Dadou, chairman of the South African Communist Party, Dr Bryan Skip, chairman of the British-Bulgarian Friendship Society, Len Dawson, secretary of the British-Bulgarian Trade Union Association, the writer James Aldridge, and many men of culture, writers, journalists and members of business circles.

Also present were the ambassadors of the socialist countries and of many Balkan, European and African countries, and senior Foreign Office and Trade Ministry officials.

Comrade Milko Balev delivered the speech published below. He presented a certificate and the special Laurel Branch Award to Robert Maxwell, president of the publishing house, noted

public figure and journalist and one of the founders of the Lyudmila Zhivkova International Foundation.

Mr Robert Maxwell expressed his thanks for the award and spoke on Lyudmila Zhivkova's work and ideas which will live forever. Robert Maxwell's statement is published separately.

As was the case 1 year ago, when we presented the book by the general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic "Todor Zhivkov--Statesman and Builder of New Bulgaria," once again this evening we are gathered on the kind invitation of Kiril Shterev, Bulgaria's ambassador to Great Britain, and Mr Robert Maxwell, the respected president of the world famous Pergamon Press Publishing Company. Today our attention is focused on the book "Lyudmila Zhivkova. Her Many Worlds, New Culture and Beauty, Ideas and Activities," also published by Pergamon Press in the series "Leaders of the World." It is an exquisitely presented tastefully and beautifully printed work.

There is something deeply significant and symbolic and, at the same time, something containing a profound human tragedy in this fact.

This fact is mainly a symbol of the natural and firm ties, of the spiritual relationship, common ideas and ideals, and unity and continuity of generations in our country. Yes, it is natural and logical for the daughter to follow the path and take up the cause of her father, to follow in his footsteps and, through her personal qualities, to become his closest fellow worker, while seeking her own individual expression and development. It is both natural and logical that the books by the daughter follow those of the father.

This fact excites us with its tragedy as well. Without introducing any sad notes on this bright occasion which has gathered us, I would like once again to express our common pain--the author of this book left prematurely her many worlds, before having reached the age of 39. Yes, it is indeed cruel when a child dies in front of his father. In this case nature is blind and fate is inhumanely cruel.

A great deal can be said about Lyudmila Zhivkova. Direct personal memories of this remarkable and comprehensively manifested personality--one of the most noted political and socio-state leaders, one of the great hopes of the Bulgarian Communist Party and of Bulgaria, a talented and original scientist and researcher, a beautiful person with a deep love for people for whom she lived and burned to her last breath, remain fresh.

"Her many worlds." These words inscribed on the blue cover of the book have captured quite precisely the essence and revealed the core of this otherwise unpretentious collection of fragments of a great number of works.

Lyudmila Zhivkova's restless seeking spirit was focused on the global problems of the world, on conquering a lasting peace and happiness for mankind, the building of a just and harmonious world, education and universal esthetic upbringing and harmonious development of man.

Her eyes captured precisely and accurately the rich and varied image of reality and went beyond it, to the future.

Her aspirations were focused on new and unknown areas of knowledge and social practice, on undeveloped problems, on unexplored "blank spots," in science, theory and practice, on what is lasting and permanent, and on intolerance of anything amateurish.

Her approach revealed her ability to penetrate into the depths of historical processes, to refract historical experience acquired in the course of centuries through the lens of the unity binding the past with the present and the future.

Her talent was comprehensive and so were her interests. Her creativity was innovative and her duties and actions were comprehensive and extremely varied.

All of this has been ably reflected in the book which is the subject of our encounter and discussion.

Lyudmila Zhivkova's book is above all a book on the history and fate of Bulgaria, on the life and profound aspirations of the Bulgarian people.

In the way a dew drop reflects the entire sun, the features of our and her character, her essence are reflected in the vivid individualities described.

Lyudmila Zhivkova reflected the sun in the full meaning of the term. Her individualities reflect the features of a nation, its character and its essence.

Lyudmila Zhivkova was in the full meaning of the term a representative of the Bulgarian socialist nation, which is not only the heir of ancient cultures but a builder of a new humane world. It is precisely as a Bulgarian that she perceived the world and it was precisely through her that the world saw Bulgaria. The national, the international and the global blended within her. She dedicated her entire short and dynamic life to the acceleration of this tireless and necessary historical process today, through which national values become the property of all mankind while the interests of mankind organically blend with the life of the nation.

Lyudmila Zhivkova's entire creative legacy and the very example of her dedicated life convincingly prove the ideological, moral and humane qualities of the Bulgarian nation. Her book is a praise of the Bulgarian people and their traditions and virtues--a people with a creative spirit, democratic traditions and spiritual purity, a people of fabulous industriousness and thirst for knowledge, with a feeling of national dignity and respect for other nations, friendship and love of peace, and inexhaustible historical optimism. A people who, in the words of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, "surmounted the vicissitudes

in the course of its 13 centuries of history and hence today in the eyes of the world proud of its past, greater than ever in its present and confident in its future as a nation marching in the vanguard of human progress."

To us, Bulgarians, and not to us only, Lyudmila Zhivkova's work and personality are a bridge leading to knowledge of our people, a bridge of constructive dialogue, peaceful contacts and reciprocal trust, without which there neither is a rich life on our tortured and concerned planet nor could there be one. Lyudmila Zhivkova did not spare herself in the name of the loftiest ideals of all people of all races and nationalities. She is no longer among us, but her star shines in the sky of our days and continues to radiate its noble light on all of us. It is a Bulgarian star shining for all mankind.

The permanent live ties which Lyudmila Zhivkova maintained with Russian and Soviet culture and art and the profound mastery of them she achieved in the course of her postgraduate studies at Moscow University and her creative exposure to the cultures of many other nations resulted in the creation of many studies, reports, speeches, articles and initiatives by her.

Her monograph "Anglo-Turkish Relations 1933-1939" was the result of her stay in England, where she specialized at Oxford, and her patient "digging" in Foreign Office files and in many other libraries. It was in England, in the silence of the British Museum Library, that she developed the idea of another major scientific research work entitled "Tsar Ivan Aleksandur's Fourth Gospel," known as the London or Kurzon Gospel. This cultural monument of the unusual pre-renaissance blossoming during Bulgaria's Middle Ages, assumed a new life in L. Zhivkova's book. And, since we are discussing her scientific research, I am tempted here to note also her work "The Kazanluk Tomb," which is a logical interpretation of the profound and ancient roots of the ancient foundations of Bulgarian culture. Beautifully written, with skill and depth, this book contributed to the interpretation and popularization of a unique and until then poorly known monument of Thracian culture, the natural historical heir to which is the culture of the Bulgarian people. The exhibit of the remarkable Thracian treasury was collected and displayed in London and other major world culture centers under her direct guidance and personal involvement.

That is why we find in her book in front of us the following warm words: "We highly value cultural cooperation with other countries, a cooperation which enables us to become familiar with, love, understand and penetrate the peak achievements of other cultures. One of them is British culture, the exposure to which has always been exciting to us, for it enables us to penetrate into the direct spiritual world of the British people."

Lyudmila Zhivkova's book serves quite well the development of friendly relations between the Bulgarian and British people.

I am pleased to note that bilateral relations between Bulgaria and Great Britain are developing relatively well. This is particularly emphasized in the economic, cultural and scientific areas. The fact that the Bulgarian economy is not only rapidly developing but stable makes Bulgaria a desired and sought after partner. British business circles are becoming more interested in the

development of mutually profitable cooperation with the respective Bulgarian enterprises. The recently initialed treaty for cultural and scientific cooperation is a good foundation for the further creative acquaintanceship between our nations. In our view, however, political relations between Bulgaria and Great Britain are not consistent with achievements in other areas. I believe that good opportunities exist to take reciprocal steps to enhance the level of these relations as well.

In the present complex international situation all countries, big and small, politicians, statesmen, men of science and culture and nations have the duty to take specific actions to reduce tension and strengthen detente, disarmament and the safeguard of peace in the world and maintain peaceful and correct relations among countries. This conviction is the base of our initiatives in the important strategic area in which we live--the Balkan Peninsula. It is also the base of our proposals submitted jointly with our Warsaw Pact allies, as found in their political declaration which was recently adopted in Prague.

Lyudmila Zhivkova served with total dedication this cause--the cause of peace and understanding among nations. The same cause is served by this book.

Dear friends:

Lyudmila Zhivkova had a wonderful gift and talent to inspire and unite the hearts and souls of people. Her book has gathered us together here, together with its many colors filled with daring and bold enthusiasm, creativity and beauty. The more time passes--this merciless judge of the deeds of nations and individuals--as it marks its historical progress, the more the national and global significance of her comprehensive work will be enhanced.

Lyudmila Zhivkova wrote the book of her unfinished life in a single breath. The thoughts and words contained in this book are live burning droplets of the bubbling Promethean lava in her heart.

Having gathered within itself the age-old maternal love and hopes, concern and worry about her own children with great love and hope, care and concern for the destiny of the youth of mankind, this heart encompasses the problems of the children of the planet. It gave birth and life to the Banner of Peace Assembly and Movement.

Yes, this heart encompassed the joys of creative construction and daring dreams. It touched the heights of beauty and perfection and gave birth to the inspired slogan which met with a broad response throughout the world: "Unity, Creativity, Beauty!"

Yes, this heart brimming with most lofty thrusts gave birth to the idea of the now highly prestigious Sofia meetings of writers the world over under the slogan of "Peace is the Hope of the Planet!"

That heart absorbed the pains, concerns and hopes of our difficult and complex time. It poured vital energy and fresh blood to the common efforts for the preservation and strengthening the body of world peace. It gave birth to many

fiery reports, speeches and initiatives aimed at dispelling the black stormy clouds from the international skies and free the people from the nightmare of thermonuclear war and ensure the triumph of wisdom and common sense on our greatly suffering planet.

Thomas Carlyle had said once that "If a book comes out of man's very heart it will find access to the hearts of others."

I believe that Lyudmila Zhivkova's book--part of the purest essence of the heart of its author--will find its way to the hearts and minds of its readers, opening to them the clear window of a thrust which was stopped so early, and will give them faith in the prospects of the universal future of mankind.

Mr. Robert Maxwell said in an interview that "The mission of the publisher is humane and human." Allow me to join in this feeling. Let me also say that Mr Robert Maxwell, in addition to everything else, produces his works "according to the laws of beauty," as Lyudmila Zhivkova would have said.

Deservedly, at the 15th International Exhibit-Book Fair "Sofia '82," which was held under the slogan "The Book in the Service of Peace and Progress," the special award presented at the international competition for "Best Published Book by Bulgarian Author Outside Bulgaria," was awarded by the international jury to Pergamon Press, competing with 95 companies representing 682 publishing houses from 37 countries, exhibiting 39,000 books. The award was presented for the book "Todor Zhivkov--Statesman and Builder of New Bulgaria."

It is with a feeling of joy and pleasure that I present Mr Robert Maxwell a certificate and a special "Laurel Branch" award as a symbol of creative victory and peace!

By congratulating him with this award, which is an expression of the great recognition of Pergamon Press, the printers and everyone who has contributed to the publication of the book and, personally Mr Robert Maxwell, I am particularly pleased to express here our Bulgarian gratitude and the gratitude of Comrade Todor Zhivkov for the following:

For the publication of the book by Lyudmila Zhivkova which is a new contribution to the books of the world;

For the contribution made by Mr Maxwell, as one of the founders of the International Lyudmila Zhivkova Foundation, which will promote her universal and highly humane objectives and his noble gesture of contributing to the foundation the entire income from this book;

For his responsiveness and sincere efforts to develop friendship and mutually profitable cooperation between the Bulgarian and British people and between Bulgaria and Britain;

And for his consistent efforts for peace, understanding and cooperation among nations.

To English-speaking people who would like to find out what Bulgaria was, is and will become, who would like to find out the truth about the Bulgarian people and feel their rich and pure spirituality, I would say: "Read the books of Todor Zhivkov and Lyudmila Zhivkova, published by Pergamon Press!"

Let us wish Lyudmila Zhivkova's book "Godspeed! Happy sailing to many worlds of readers throughout the world!"

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CSO: 2200/56

BULGARIA

MAXWELL'S STATEMENT ON LYUDMILA ZHIVKOVA' BOOK

Sofia LITERATURE FRONT in Bulgarian 17 Feb 83 p 4

[Statement by Robert Maxwell: "Her Cause and Ideas Will Live Forever"]

[Text] There is nothing I could add to what Milko Balev said about this remarkable Bulgarian woman who left this world at such an early age. I gratefully accept the award not only on my behalf but on behalf of all working people--setters, printers, binders and others, without whose toil this book would not have seen the light.

Allow me to add something else regarding the Lyudmila Zhivkova International Foundation and about the person after whom it was named. Lyudmila Zhivkova was not only a great political leader of her country and not only because she was Todor Zhivkov's daughter. She had a great variety of ideas regarding human nature, beauty and politics. Her work is a gold stock which is as yet to be studied by scientific workers, politicians and specialists, East and West.

The foundation named after her, which was created in Bulgaria and one of the founders of which I am, rallies many other noted international personalities who are dedicating their time and efforts to enhance its prestige.

One of the great colleges in Oxford, where she completed her specialization, recently expressed an interest to cooperate with the foundation.

The cause, ideas and spirit of Lyudmila Zhivkova will live forever. Some of them--dealing with culture, human advancement, children, education, and so on--are of global significance.

Lyudmila Zhivkova herself was an unusual person. Her loss is a great loss to Bulgaria and even, believe me, to Europe and the entire world. Her work will withstand the test of time.

I thank all my friends in Bulgaria, particularly Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the Bulgarian People's Republic State Council. I ask Mr Balev to present to him our best wishes for success and good health. You may assure him that the cause initiated by Lyudmila Zhivkova has not been and will not be forgotten. I am convinced that this book will make its way in the world and will be a memorable beginning of the blossoming of some of Lyudmila Zhivkova's ideas, not only for the good of Bulgaria but of all mankind.

DAILY DISCUSSES JUVENILE DELINQUENCY IN SLOVAKIA

[Editorial report] AU141840 Bratislava VECERNIK in Slovak on 11 March 1983 on page 8 carries a 2,400-word Geno Penkovsky article entitled "We are not indifferent to the protection of youth against antisocial activity." The article deals with the extent and the causes of juvenile delinquency in Slovakia.

Penkovsky differentiates among three groups of young offenders. Speaking about the first group, boys and girls aged up to 15, Penkovsky says that delinquency in this age group has been "slightly increasing" since 1978. In 1981 0.29 percent of all children in this age group committed a criminal act, mostly "attacks on property in socialist or private ownership" but also acts of "physical violence." Characteristic of this age group, according to Penkovsky, are "gang robberies, especially among children of gypsy origin."

The second group of juvenile delinquents is made up of 15 to 18-year-olds, who accounted for 9.3 percent of all defendants in 1981. Out of 1,000 young people in this age group, 17 "sat on the bench of the accused" that year. More than one-half of all criminal acts committed by juveniles in this age group were property-related but other "maladies" such as physical violence, rowdyism and vandalism were also common.

The third group of young offenders is made up of 18 to 24-year-olds. According to Penkovsky, they account for "up to 30 percent" of crime in Slovakia, which is "much more than their share in the Slovak population." Aside from property-related crime, members of this age group are said to commit "the whole gamut of criminal acts, including drunkenness, attacks on public figures, parasitism, rowdyism and rape."

In this article, Penkovsky then describes several cases of juvenile crime that have been dealt with by Slovak courts--the first involving a gang of five 16-year olds specializing in car thefts and "erotically-motivated violence against women"; the second a gang of four 15 to 18-year-olds who, following their exposure as thieves, were planning to break into a firing range, hijack a motor vehicle with hostages and flee abroad; the third a group of 8 to 11-year-old boys who "devastated" the premises of a Bratislava organization; and the fourth a young mother who starved her baby to death.

Having described these cases, Penkovsky then turns to the causes of juvenile delinquency. He says in this context: "Violations of the principles of social-

ist ethics and legal norms by the adults, hypocrisy, duplicity, opportunism and formalism, favoritism, corruption and bribery, pilferage of property in socialist ownership, lack of discipline, disrespect for the law--phenomena of which young people are witnesses--they all have a very negative impact on them. As regards gypsy boys and girls, this is coupled with the influence of their cultural backwardness for many years, which we have not yet eliminated, with negative character traits and with the consumption of alcohol."

Commenting further on the causes of juvenile delinquency, Penkovsky also refers to the family background of most offenders (saying that in 1981 662 young offenders came from families of alcoholics, 418 from families of criminals and 326 from broken homes), to the "limited space" in the homes for juvenile delinquents (for this reason, in 1981 652 children and adolescents could not be placed there, despite the courts' recommendation) and to the failure of the socialist youth union to devote itself to "individual educational influence" on young recidivists.

CSO: 2400/205

NATIONAL URANIUM INDUSTRY DISCUSSED

Its Management

Rome LISTY in Czech No 6, Dec 82 pp 63-65

[Article by V. Richter: "The Squandering of Czechoslovakia's Mineral Wealth"]

[Text] A number of estimates exist, which have yet to be documented, concerning the extraction and sale of Czechoslovak uranium ore. The general public, to say nothing of many better informed individuals, has not been privy for more than 30 years to the conditions of uranium sales, including the formation of the prices for which the uranium is sold to a single long-term consumer.

These issues are the concern of only a few people, who form the Czechoslovak-Soviet Commission, composed of representatives of both sides and their advisers. There are only about 10 people in our country who are aware of the entire complex of issues. This makes it very easy to prepare various reports for this or that agency and to cover up one or another aspects of the problem. This assures that the harsh reality of the highly unprofitable conditions of extraction and sale does not come to light. Uranium has always been shrouded with a veil of secrecy, and disclosure of even insignificant facts has always carried with it a stiff penalty.

The uranium sector has undergone stormy development such as no other entity in the CSSR and has achieved exceptional results, in many instances at the price of human misery.

The development of uranium mining, if one leaves out the period prior to World War II, when uranium was mined only for the processing of uranite colors and a small amount of radium, began in the 1946-1950 period. It was not even extensive in the period immediately following 1945. At that time, the only people working on the renovation of the old Jachymov mine shafts were German prisoners of war.

The crucial impetus was provided only by the signing of an agreement with the Soviet Union in 1946 concerning the mining and sale of uranium. However, it was not until after 1948 that the conditions began to be created for the

rapid growth of extraction in the area of Jachymov, and shortly thereafter in Slavkov, Zadni Chodov and, in the early years of the fifties, near Pribram. A fully operational power structure also began to supply the mining areas with the requisite work force. Prison labor camps were built right next to the mine shafts, and they were inhabited at the start for the most part with support as well as mining personnel. At the Jachymov mines tens of thousands of prisoners worked off their often undeserved sentences under inhuman conditions, with many of them losing their lives in the course of this work.

Extraction levels in the early years were very low. There was a lack of both experience and of mechanization. For this reason, after February 1948 the USSR sent technicians to Jachymov, and in essence they took over the running of the entire operation. Only the director of the Jachymov mines remained Czechoslovak. Rapidly constructed housing settlements, high wages, exceptional preferences under the rationing system in the form of meat, fats and other foods, clothing and footwear, and the responsibility of the national committees at all levels to provide the established quotas for the labor force, combined to set the stage for the hiring of civilian employees as well. Thus Jachymov, almost overnight, and for the second time in its history became a town sought out by people of all social strata. In the course of 4 years the number of uranium mine employees grew by roughly 50,000 people, and extraction levels increased many times.

To facilitate the operation of the Jachymov mines, a division was set up at the level of the government presidium which had the task of resolving operational problems involving deliveries of material, equipment, and workers. With the change of situation and transfer of responsibilities for the work of the uranium mines, this role was assumed by a special division within the Planning Commission, and later by the Ministry of Mining.

Beginning in 1953, and on the basis of an agreement with the USSR, there was a gradual departure of Soviet employees and the turning over of most of the technical functions to Czechoslovak experts. Agreement was also reached on the terms of sale of uranium ore based on a fixed price per unit of uranium over a 5-year period. The Czechoslovak-Soviet Commission was established to resolve critical issues of the mining and processing of the uranium in our country, and to submit proposals to organs of both countries, including proposals for the price of uranium.

The Czechoslovak representatives on this commission, along with the director of the uranium mines, who was not always a member, as well as responsible members of the government and the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium have borne and continue to bear responsibility for the sale of such an important raw material, and are responsible for the fact that it is being sold at a price far below the actual costs of extraction and processing.

The price per unit of uranium was set originally on the basis of extraction costs plus an added profit. At each succeeding price-setting session this price was adjusted to correspond to the level of costs. This meant that costs of roughly Kcs 2.5 billion were supplemented with a profit figure of

about Kcs 30 million. In the sixties, when world extraction of uranium exceeded demand, the agreed upon price more or less corresponded to the world price. All would, therefore, appear to be in order, were it not for a few facts which shed new light on the situation:

1) The transferring of managerial positions in the uranium industry to Czechoslovak experts took place over a period of about 2 years. Because the Soviets knew in advance about the departure of their experts and about the proposed formula for setting prices, they understandably were interested in seeing to it that costs were as low as possible. They therefore set about reducing all costs. The driven cross sections of mineshaft corridors, cross entries, shafts and raises were made as low as possible, without regard for future mining conditions and requirements, and above all for the working and health conditions of the people who would be working the mines.

This approach became evident in a very detrimental manner shortly after the departure of the Soviet experts. The small and tight transporting corridors and shafts did not correspond to the demands of increasing extraction. They did not allow for sufficient ventilation or for the assembly of necessary equipment. This resulted in accidents, unnecessary nervous tension and conflicts between workers and technical personnel. With the extension of mining to greater depths and wider reaches, the primary problem became that of ventilating the shafts.

The inadequate ventilation of the workplace was the greatest danger to the workers. Radioactivity in inadequately ventilated worksites far exceeded permissible limits. At the same time, no one could be found to speak out against such conditions. In defense of the senior managers at that time, it may be said that they themselves did not realize the implications of this situation, and that the general director at that time, Eng Sindler, severely suppressed opinions which called attention to the dangerous working conditions of the uranium mines. The consequences of work under these conditions became evident some 6 years later, when mortality due to cancer for these employees began to increase, becoming over time several times as high as the national average.

2) The agreed upon price did not include costs of geological research. The arguments of the Soviet side at that time appeared to be logical. Geological research is of a prospective character, and its financing is therefore a matter for a future time, when Czechoslovakia would be mining uranium for its own requirements. However, this period has already lasted for 35 years, and exploration costs are still not being reflected in the price.

Allegedly so that the Czechoslovak side would not be damaged, the USSR was willing to pay for 50 percent of the exploration costs. This was a magnanimous gesture, but the CSSR had not yet had a chance to make its own decision about uranium. The primary reason for this participation in the financing of geological research was, however, to provide the Soviet side with an accurate view of prospective and immediately accessible deposits. Their experts shared in the processing and evaluating of research results and

therefore had the opportunity to monitor both extraction and reserves. And this principle was also incorporated in the agreement concerning the financing of geological and research work.

Costs for geological research have fluctuated in specific years between Kcs 180 and 300 million. Over 30 years of exploration financed in this manner, Czechoslovakia has spent about Kcs 3 billion on it, an amount that clearly far exceeds the agreed upon profit margin.

3) Nor does the price for which the uranium is sold to the Soviet Union include overhead costs which, given the unique locations of the uranium deposits, are substantial. These are primarily costs related to the construction of housing settlements and their outfitting. Mines of the uranium industry do not usually lie near large industrial centers from which a part of the labor force could be drawn and where it would be possible to construct apartments that could later be utilized by the city. At the same time it is well known that uranium deposits are soon exhausted, making it necessary to search for a way to utilize the already constructed housing stock and the workforce, to the extent that it does not move on to new mining areas. It was necessary to resolve such problems in Slavkov and Ostrov nad Ohri, and they will have to be faced in Pribram, Rozne, Tisnove and later on in the Ceska Lipa region.

In addition to the resources already expended on housing construction, the state must devote additional funds to the construction of replacement industries and to retrain people. This was the motivation for the construction of the Skoda works near Ostrov for the production of trolleybuses and turnkey capital projects. This is also the case at Slavkov, where there was a long search for a potential way to make use of the settlement. This problem is beginning to be pressing in Pribram. These costs represent additional sums in the hundreds of millions which society expends on mining without receiving any of it in return.

The problem with housing stock is also true for other investment projects for which there is no possible application after the closing down of a uranium mine. These include roads, railroad spurs and expensive energy-generation equipment. Nor do costs take into account damages stemming from the destruction of agricultural land or the efforts necessary subsequently to return the terrain to its original, or at least an acceptable, condition.

The state budget also covers subsidies to the CSD [Czechoslovak State Railroad] and CSAD [Czechoslovak Automotive Transport] related to the transporting of employees to the workplace, an activity which is unprofitable everywhere in our country.

4) Another, and not insignificant element which is not included in the price of uranium is the cost connected with health care. These costs are drawn from the resources of the Ministry of Health.

The uranium industry has in place a relatively large health-care apparatus composed of health centers, hospitals and other treatment facilities with a

large staff. Costs covered from the state budget for their construction and operation are not insignificant. But it is not only these costs which are at issue here.

Particularly prior to 1960, but still so is the fact that the health of employees of the uranium mines is threatened by inhospitable work conditions and the long-term effects of work in a health-threatening environment. The results have been evident for some 20 years now. Hundreds of employees have died of cancer and additional hundreds have been disabled by occupational diseases such as nasoneurosis, silicosis, rheumatism, periodic loss of hearing, etc. The costs for treatment and indemnification for these workers, to say nothing of the irreplaceable losses of human life, are substantial.

5) Just as with the costs for health care, so also are the costs of social security drawn from resources which are in no way incorporated into the price of uranium. In their 35 years of operation the uranium mines have "generated" a large number of retirees.

Mine workers are included in retirement category I, with a retirement age of 50. Nevertheless, employees who worked at the mines prior to 1956 and who were therefore exposed to higher levels of radioactivity had to be transferred to other work. This transfer applied to hundreds of workers. Employees transferred in this way received severance pay and a grant at the new place of work (to the extent that the wages are not equal to those in the mines), of about Kc3 1,000 monthly until retirement age.

These amounts are also not included in the price of uranium, even though these additional costs would not have arisen had these employees not worked in the uranium mines. And our national economy has been paying for these unfavorable circumstances for more than 30 years with sums in the hundreds of millions of korunas.

Yet no one should think ill of our Soviet partners for proceeding in this manner. They are businessmen who pursue their objectives single-mindedly without regard for the interests of the weaker partner. In commerce, whether it be on capitalist or on socialist markets, the same principles apply. If someone allows himself to be robbed, it is his fault.

Who gave to whom the right to manage in this manner something that belongs to the entire society? What is in it for those who make these decisions about the Czechoslovak economy?

The question also suggests itself: What is the way out of this situation? Uranium is a vitally necessary energy resource for Czechoslovakia. Even though the richest and least expensive reserves have been exhausted, it is essential to manage well that which remains. Our uranium reserves are not inexhaustible. The mining of the existing deposits is very complex and therefore costly. It is, therefore, in the most vital interest of the country to immediately cease deliveries of uranium to the USSR and to the extent possible stockpile the uranium that has been mined for our own processing and

consumption. It is essential to put off the opening of new deposits until such time as it is necessary to open them for our own use.

Its Environmental Pollution

Rome LISTY in Czech No 6, Dec 82 pp 65

[Article by Vaclav Hamr: "Uranium at Any Price"]

[Text] Regarding the information in Charter 77 concerning the state of the environment, the editorial offices of LISTY has received this contribution from a reader at home:

The Hamr Uranium Mines concern enterprise mines fully one-half of all the uranium in Czechoslovakia. Perhaps one-half of this is obtained by traditional subsurface mining techniques, while the other half, or one-fourth of all Czechoslovak uranium, is obtained by so-called chemical extraction. Environmental pollution and the literal devastation of nature in this area simply outweigh the importance that the extracted uranium has for the national economy, or even for the long suspect defense of the republic.

The subsurfacing mining is causing the release of radioactive water of the Senonian Horizon into Ploucnice, and results in inhaling radioactive radon which, as is its good custom and due to its atomic weight (it is heavier than lead), accumulates in crumbled and mainly in mineral-bearing sandstones. below the surface there are also occasional accidents and misfortunes. The number of local deceased, however, may not be compared, for instance, with the well-hidden, often three figure annual number of dead miners in the Ostrava-Karvin region.

Near Straze, operation is beginning of a chemical-processing plant for uranium ore that is somewhat innovative. So far no chemical has been very good for the environment, which makes even more notable the appearance in this area of north Bohemia of the so-called Chemical Extraction Mine. It is set up as follows: In a heavily inhabited area, which is also the largest source of potable water in Bohemia, a hole is drilled through permeable layers of sedimentary rock, then through less permeable clays and silts, after which on the whole permeable rocks are encountered again, then water itself, though unfortunately radioactive. At this point we are about 200 meters below the ground, at the location of a couple of meters of mineral-bearing layers. A polyethylene pipe is then stuck into this borehole, cemented in place and then, as fast as possible, sulphuric acid is forced into the pipe. Down below a little bit of uranium is dissolved, and the solution pumped up to the surface through other holes. The precipitates from this solution include ammonium diuranate. Let it dry a little bit and it is ready for delivery to the USSR.

Almost 4,000 boreholes have been drilled so far, and one of them costs us nearly Kcs 100,000. But the closing up of such a borehole is much more expensive, even if this may seem surprising. The acid in the meantime is spreading out under the ground, and calmly heads for mine shafts. If we know

miners at all, they might have something to say about this. So a hydraulic barrier is set up. A swath of woods, perhaps 150 meters wide and several kilometers long is clear cut and, for a change, what are known as broad profile boreholes are sunk (no one will do one for you for less than half a million). Water is forced into them so that the acid will not spread out so fast under the ground. So the water will be acidic and a little radioactive? That doesn't matter, there will be a lot of it.

A couple of square kilometers of forest have already been cut down on our famous leaching field. What do you want, our uranium is serving the cause of peace, as the slogan on the outskirts of Strazske declares. The original idea that the leaching would not require additional acid over time has long since been proved false, so that now they are constantly bringing tanks with acid to Ralsko (in addition to sulphuric, nitric and hydrofluoric are also appropriate). The solutions are forced further into the holes, and who knows what is really going on down there. There are pressure holes here through which more concentrated solutions are forced down to the uranium than those solutions that are pumped up from the surrounding holes. ... But who would have the courage to deactivate one of the holes, the plan must be fulfilled, after all. Out of several thousand boreholes, however, one of them has to burst at some point, right into that quality potable water from the Luronic Geologic Stratum which will thereby be "beneficially" enriched with acid containing a significant amount of radioactive elements. And who says that this potable water has long ago ceased to be potable?!

As is well known, the pessimists say that things cannot be any worse and the optimists say that they can. Of course, in this case another group is right: there is enough uranium here, holes continue to be merrily bored, and another mineshaft is being sunk at Luzice. Our native party, after all, teaches us that we must always be prepared to sacrifice our (*italicized*) lives for its (*italicized*) projects.

9276

CSO: 2400/172

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

BERLIN-BRANDENBURG BISHOP ON PROBLEMS OF CHRISTIANS IN GDR

DW030729 Bonn DIE WELT in German 2 Mar 83 p 4

["Excerpts" from interview with Gottfried Forck, bishop of the Eastern Region of the Berlin-Brandenburg Church, by the Information Service of the Evangelical Alliance in Wetzlar; date not given]

[Text] Question: You are said to have your ear on the pulse of the church people. What are the main problems of the congregations?

Forck: The congregations are dealing in particular with the problem of how to be a Christian in an atheist environment. Despite the 6 March 1978 promise of the State Council chairman, some congregation members are worried whether they as Christians will have the same educational and professional opportunities as other citizens in our state. Others are asking how they can achieve success as Christians, particularly in our environment. Active congregation members have recently been dealing with the problem of how our congregations can become more independent financially.

Question: You have become well-known because you wore the "Swords into Plowshares" badge. What were or are your reasons for doing that? Do you still wear it?

Forck: I wore the "Swords into Plowshares" badge because I considered it a legitimate sign of the future God wants to give the world—a future we must approach courageously and persistently. The badge is still on one of my briefcases.

Question: Has the climate between the state and the church improved continuously since 6 March 1978?

Forck: The climate between the church and the state has improved in some areas since 6 March 1978. Since that time there have been regular TV programs by the Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR which can provide information about church work and which have a missionary flavor. The state has concluded a contract with the church on pensions for church workers which fully meets the interests of both sides. In many places pastoral care for Christian citizens living in state-owned old age and nursing homes has become

more possible than before, and where it still isn't possible we have the opportunity to cite the agreement of 6 March 1978.

However, there are still tensions and hindrances in the sphere of public education and military service. We have to assume that this will continue in the future, although some state authorities are sincerely trying to reduce tensions.

Question: A Western journalist in the GDR recently accused the church of no longer challenging the state and of having accommodated itself to it after the church's "defeat" in the fifties on the issue of youth consecration. Was an arrangement made?

Forck: Accommodation by the church to the state is always a great temptation everywhere. However, since the leading party in our area considers itself to be atheistic, separation of church and state is always assured. Most Christians are quite aware of the fact that a belief in Jesus Christ doesn't allow us just to withdraw into a religious inner life and leave politics to the state, it has been clearly stated that we as Christians should follow Jesus Christ in all spheres of our life. However, by following Christ, rules out any cheap and basic accommodation with the state.

Question: You are the bishop of a church that has been divided since 1972. Have contacts between East and West deteriorated during this time? Do you still have hopes that there will again be a Berlin-Brandenburg Church in the foreseeable future?

Forck: East-West contacts within the Evangelical Berlin-Brandenburg Church have increased rather than decreased since 1972. Travel regulations being what they are, contacts are maintained particularly by congregation members and helpers at our church in East Berlin. We still consider ourselves to be one church, although with independent church managements and administrative areas. I believe that in the foreseeable future this autonomy of both sections won't be abandoned because the conditions for church services in the East and West of Berlin are too different.

Forck: I can't assess how long East and West Berlin will remain so sharply separated politically from each other as they are now, and I don't want to speculate on it.

CSO: 2300/180

GDR WRITERS NEED PERMIT FOR WORK READING

DW151209 Frankfurt FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 15 Mar 83 p 1

[Karl-Heinz Baum article on a Leipzig press conference with GDR Deputy Cultural Affairs Minister Kalus Hoepke]

[Text] Leipzig, 14 March—In the GDR, writers and people who strive to become writers must reckon with fines if they read from their works in private circles or in private homes and fail to report this officially. During the press conference marking the opening of the Leipzig book fair Klaus Hoepke, deputy minister of cultural affairs, indirectly answered in the affirmative a question by a West German journalist whether private readings also require permission. Hoepke said in Leipzig: "Anyone reporting readings in accordance with the GDR regulation on meetings and functions will not be fined."

It was learned in Leipzig in addition that younger writers who reported their readings in private homes were granted permission to do so only very rarely.

Asked why the work of some GDR writers—listed by name were Wolfgang Hilbig, Lutz Rathenow, Sascha Anderson and Gerd Neumann—are published in the Federal Republic but no in the GDR, Hoepke said that the readers of GDR publishing houses probably were unable to "discover adequate ideological and artistic qualities" in the manuscripts of these writers. The GDR minister doubted that these authors had offered their work to GDR publishing houses as well.

Hoepke said that it is necessary to conduct talks with these writers, but he added that it is an ill service to the authors and to literature, and to the relations between the states, if such talks are disturbed by publications in other countries.

As for possibilities of making any headway with the GDR-FRG cultural agreement that has been on the agenda since 1972 Hoepke was more concrete in saying that SED General Secretary Erich Honecker the day before had just mentioned generally and without specifying a topic: The GDR does not want to place any question into the foreground which cannot be solved at this time but rather those questions in which progress might be scored. According to Hoepke, these include the purchase and sale of licenses for books as well as the political readiness to be openminded toward another country.

CSO: 2300/181

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

CATHOLIC-PROTESTANT CHURCH RELATIONS IN GDR SEEN IMPROVING

Bonn DIE WELT in German 12 Feb 83 p 4

[Article by Hans-Ruediger Karutz, datelined Berlin: "The Climate Between the Two GDR Churches Is Improving--Protestants Are Pinning Great Ecumenical Hopes on Berlin's New Cardinal Meisner"]

[Text] When today in East Berlin's St Hedwig's Cathedral in the presence of the three city councilors and Mayor von Weizsaecker Catholics from East and West jointly celebrate the elevation to cardinal of their Bishop Joachim Meisner, who has just returned from Rome, this special church service raises the question: How well are GDR Catholics and Protestants getting along? After decades of cool and distant relations, which had many reasons, the unfavorable climate between the top representatives between the two churches now seems to be improving. GDR Christians are moving closer together.

The classic diaspora situation of the Catholic Church in the GDR is based on the numerical 5 to 1 superiority of Protestants. Before the war, Catholics made up at most 3 percent of the population of the then central part of Germany.

People driven from their homeland and refugees from the Sudetenland, East Prussia and Silesia who settled in the area that is now the GDR made the Catholic share of the population rise to approximately 7 percent. Even though in the days of the SED confrontation with the church in the 50's there were at times excellent ground-level contacts between Protestant and Catholic parishes, on the level of the official church there always was "distance and mutual coolness", as an insider puts it.

The reasons were clear: because the world-wide oriented, Vatican-directed Catholic Church in the GDR always considered itself the "small flock" and Bishop Hugo Aufderbeck (Erfurt) once described the "GDR" as "his lot", Protestant leaders tried to experiment with the formula of the "church under socialism". This struggle resulted in a limited accommodation with state authorities --climaxed by the "summit meeting" which Erich Honecker on 6 March 1978-- and in a certain amount of elbow room for public action by the church.

The Catholic Church sought no such accommodation during either the 60's or 70's. Strong objections to the practice of atheist education, state approval

of abortion, and massive curtailment of parental rights were expressed by the Catholic Church primarily in letters to the GDR leadership or in pastoral letters by the bishops.

These were read from the pulpits but were usually not published for more careful study in church publications such as the East Berlin ST HEDWIG'S-BLATT. The "wagon train" philosophy of the approximately 1.3 million GDR Catholics was in clear contrast to the broad, public discussions of problems as they were and are practised at district and state-wide synods of the GDR Protestant Church.

The Catholic Church kept an equal distance from critics of the present situation in the GDR and from state authorities. "Those who sit like Daniel in the lion's den should neither pet nor tease the lions," was the directive for public conduct.

Three factors determined the reversal and gradual change toward fraternal relations between the two churches. Especially during the past year, internal pressures increased from the ground level on the official level of the Catholic Church because higher officials have so far made no public comments on, e.g., the urgent topic of peace policy.

The so-called "Action Group Halle" of Catholic Christians strongly urged the church "to break its silence which made the church a passive onlooker in the peace question." The church should finally give up its "speechlessness" on this topic and should follow the example of the clear positions taken by the GDR Protestant churches. Also, the church should stop considering the Protestant peace effort "often with mistrust, and labeling this effort indirectly as political opportunism and, at the same time, criticizing it as an obstacle to church-state relations."

On Church World Peace Day (1 January) the Catholic bishops of the GDR finally broke their silence: their pastoral letter on the scruples of young people in the GDR who for religious reasons are opposed to service in the armed forces, and their "serious objections" to military instruction in schools resulted in irate SED reactions. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND described "Catholic dignitaries as directed by Rome but, at the same time, citizens of the GDR."

This pastoral letter whose wording was unmistakable had been preceded by advice from Pope John Paul II to GDR Catholics to be more courageous in ecumenical questions. When the six GDR bishops who make up the "Berlin Bishops Conference" were received by the pope in private audience in October 1982, he advised them to "seek an exchange of ideas with Protestant groups" also in regard to the peace question.

The third factor contributing to better understanding between the GDR churches is the exceptionally good relationship between Cardinal Meisner, who was born in Silesia and later made his home in Thuringia, and Johannes Hampel, the district bishop of Saxony. Since the end of 1982 Hampel is president of the GDR Church Federation. Additional points of communication and contact between the churches result from the fact that the GDR Protestant Church doubtlessly

has more intellectual resources and better planners than the Catholic Church, and that the diaspora situation, on the other hand, created a more independent parish structure.

Before his trip to Rome where on 2 February he received his cardinal's insignia during an ecumenical service in West Berlin, Cardinal Meisner very clearly spoke of himself as a man favoring compromise between the churches.

He said: "When I go to Rome, I take the road of Martin Luther who made a pilgrimage to Rome in 1510. I am very deeply convinced that this trip to Rome will result for me not in greater distance from the Christian churches of this city but rather in greater closeness. Our pope is an ecumenist not only officially but passionately."

8889

CSO: 2300/151

STUDENT COMPLAINTS AGAINST EXCESSIVE IDEOLOGY CRITICIZED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 193, 18 Dec 82 p 3

[Report from Berlin: "'What? Again?'--GDR Students Criticize Extent of Ideological Training." A translation of the East Berlin FORUM article cited below follows this commentary.]

[Text] The frequency of ideological training events at GDR universities and colleges is being criticized by many students, East Berlin's FDJ publication FORUM admits. "What? Again?" That's the question that is frequently asked when yet another FDJ meeting to study Marxism-Leninism is being scheduled. According to the magazine, these and similar objections reflect a superficial attitude toward the prevailing ideology. Evidently, the paper writes, many students are unwilling to come to real terms with Marxism, "our most important tool of thinking."

GDR Youth Organ's Critique

East Berlin FORUM in German Vol 36, No 23, Dec 82 p 3

['Stichwort' (Cue) feature article by Thomas Heubner: "To Make an Impact"]

[Text] What? Another FDJ membership meeting to study Marxism-Leninism? Does that mean that the other subjects are less important? And only because 1983 is the "Marx Year"? Or is it simply because this is a long-standing tradition of FDJ work at universities, colleges and trade schools?

Questions like these are being asked in one form or another in many FDJ groups.

So why this meeting?

The most important questions, to be sure, are those regarding the meaning of life and of the time in which we live. And these questions are not being answered by the individual disciplines! The latter are able, at best, to provide partial insights. But Marxism-Leninism, which is the culmination of all sciences, with its dialectic of methods and materialistic concepts of

history, explains the processes, events and phenomena of our time--a time characterized by profound social change, by immense progress in the scientific-technological revolution and especially by questions that affect our very existence such as keeping the peace in face of the imperialist-inspired danger of atomic annihilation.

Our questions can only be answered through the ideology embraced by the working class. According to resolutions adopted by the Fifth Session of the SED Central Committee during the Karl Marx Year, scientific theory and method are needed now more than ever "in order to understand conflicting development tendencies in their essence, to recognize the power of the classes backing them and to find ways to fulfill the longing of all peoples for secure peace for work free from exploitation, for social security and justice and for education for all."

In addition, Marxism-Leninism is not merely a general theory or science but an idea which unlike any other is alive, has practical value and has been and continues to be effective.

And it is this very point at which we have to start in our membership meetings, when we talk about studying, applying and propagating Marxism-Leninism! What is the practical value of this ideology for us? How can we increase its practical effectiveness in order to achieve greater results in our studies?

Therefore, it is clear that in membership meetings we have to talk first of all about ourselves, about our attitude toward our most important tool of thinking. And that means not about its general role and meaning but about its concrete and personal role and meaning.

Are we merely talking /about/ the classics and are we merely reading literature /about/ them, or are we studying their works in the original? How useful is this wealth of knowledge?

Are we merely displaying the highest respect for the titanic works of Marx, Engels and Lenin, or are we ourselves working hard? Is everybody applying himself to the limits of his abilities in his studies?

Are we enjoying the depth and valor of classical writings? Or are we limiting ourselves to a mere repetition of quotations instead of making ourselves enjoy dialectical thinking, participate in debates during seminars and come to terms with opposing arguments through sharp polemics?

To study the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin, to apply their teaching creatively, means primarily to be effective, to make demands on oneself. As Kurt Hager emphasized at the Fifth Plenary of the SED Central Committee, the very unification of scientific thinking and revolutionary drive makes our ideology so deeply effective.

Hence effect comes from being effective.

FIELD SHELTER COMPONENTS, CONSTRUCTION PROCEDURES DESCRIBED

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 6, 1982 (signed to press 14 Sep 82)
pp 322-323

[Article by Lt Col Teusch, engineer: "Shelters Requiring Engineer Preparation of the Terrain"]

[Text] Employment of weapons of mass destruction in the combat area requires, among other things, continual upgrading of emplacement and room protection to maintain troop combat strength. Field fortification devices are constructed for this purpose from local materials and from industrially manufactured components.

Hermetic entrance components and metal or canvas shelters can be used to construct troop emplacements and rooms in the shortest possible time. The entrance components and shelters are discussed in this article.

1. The "LAS" Hermetic Entrance Component

The "LAS" hermetic entrance component is designed for multiple use. It is used as a group shelter built from local materials. The time for constructing the entrance is thereby shortened considerably and a hermetic seal of the field fortification device is achieved. The entrance component has small dimensions and is transported on combat vehicles. Total weight is 80 kg. Two people can set it up in 30 minutes and take it down and pack it up for transport in 20 minutes. It can be placed in a horizontal or vertical position. In the vertical position, a rope ladder is used to get inside. Under garrison conditions, the entrance component is stored in dry rooms or under tractor roofs. After each use, it is cleaned, dried out and repaired as required.

2. The "LKTS" Light Canvas Shelter

The "LKTS" light canvas shelter is a field fortification device for groups, crews and teams. It is designed for multiple use. It is set up manually; depending on the ground, a group can put it up in about 2 hours. It can be taken down in 30 minutes. The shelter can hold two people reclining and two people sitting or six sitting. The elliptic shape and material selected guarantee high strength and therefore a high degree of personnel protection as well. The hatch is hermetically sealable. A combined light and ventilation unit enables extended occupancy of the shelter when used to capacity.

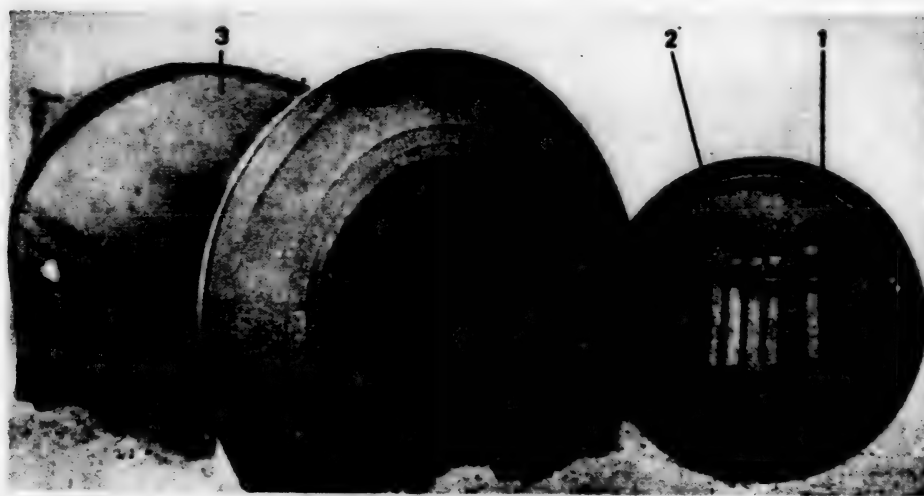


Fig. 1. [Top Photo] Overall view of the "LAS" hermetic entrance component

Fig. 2. [Bottom Photo] The "LAS" entrance component combined with a field fortification for a crew

Key:

- 1. hermetic hatch
- 2. ladder
- 3. frame with canvas cover



Fig. 3. [Top Photo] Overall view of the "LKTS" light canvas shelter

Key:

- 1. main room
- 2. lock
- 3. hermetic hatch
- 4. light and ventilation unit
- 5. braces

Fig. 4. [Bottom Photo] The "PAKET" metal shelter

Key:

- 1. entrance
- 2. main room
- 3. pull-out cables

The shelter has small dimensions in the transport mode. Weight is 100 kg. It can be carried on combat or transport vehicles. Here is the installation sequence:

- measure, lay out and excavate the pit,
- preassemble the shelter,
- install main room and lock in the pit,
- finish assembly of shelter,
- install combined light and ventilation unit,
- fill up with earth,
- check security and functioning of the device, and
- camouflage the shelter.

The shelter is disassembled in essentially the reverse sequence. To keep it ready for operation, the shelter is cleaned, dried and reconditioned as required after each use and then stored in a package in dry rooms.

3. The "PAKET" Metal Shelter

The "PAKET" metal shelter is designed for engineer preparation of command posts. Five to six people can work and rest in it. The entrance consists of a hermetic hatch and a hermetic door. A filtered ventilation unit handles air supply and exhaust. Other equipment: a periscope for observation of the combat area from the shelter, a BLS-0.5 light set, a field stove and equipment for the work and rest sections. There are openings in the outer wall designed specifically for installation of lighting and communication cables.

The shelter is assembled in a pit prepared for it. Manual installation takes a group 4 hours, or 1.5 hours when engineer machines are used. Disassembly takes 20-30 minutes. For removal, a 5-t crane is used to lift the shelter out of the pit or a tractor is used to pull it over the edge of the pit.

Two sets of shelters can be transported on a 5-t flat bed. The main shelter components are:

- two cylindrical units for the work and rest areas,
- one entrance unit with sloping access and ladder,
- two end walls and a removable wall,
- interior equipment,
- pull-out cables and the EWZ [excavation tool].

The shelter can be used alone in the ground or in a combination with protective trenches, emplacements and coverings. The protective layer is at least 1.0 m thick.

Here is the installation sequence:

- determine position in ground, lay out and dig out pit,
- assemble shelter,
- install interior equipment,
- install humidity shield,
- fill up with earth and
- camouflage shelter.

To keep it ready for operation, the shelter is assembled/disassembled by specialists each time it is used. Any touching up with paint and maintenance required are performed in shops and damaged pull-out cables are replaced. The shelter is stored in dry sites on pallets.

SZUROS WRITES ON DOMESTIC, BLOC, CEMA AFFAIRS

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 26 Feb 83 p 3

[Article by Matyas Szuros, chief of the Department of Foreign Affairs of the MSZMP Central Committee and former Hungarian ambassador to the USSR: "Our National and Common Affairs"]

[Text] The necessity of a brotherly alliance and close friendly cooperation among the socialist countries stems from the nature of their social system. The basis of the union is a common ideology, the identity of their main goals and the similarity of basic interests. The realities of our present world, the favorable international conditions for the advancement of socialism, and most of all the maintenance of peace also necessitate an alliance.

The concrete aspects of the union of socialist countries change according to the advancement and development of socialism and the changes in international conditions. For example, this alliance meant one thing in the first years following the establishment of socialism as a world system, another in the period of the Cold War and yet another in the period of building a developed socialist society under the circumstances of a power balance between the two world systems.

The recognition of an identity of interest, the matching of various interests and the search for ways of mutual action depend, of course, on subjective factors as well and may lead to various interpretations of the concept of union. The main reason for this is that socialism is being built within national frameworks. Every socialist country is autonomous in decisions concerning internal affairs and has her own characteristics in foreign affairs. The matching and coordination of national interests takes place among sovereign states, who decide the extent to which and the ways in which they take part in attaining common goals. The meaning and permanence of the union of the socialist community stem precisely from the fact that the individual socialist countries make their contributions to maintaining and strengthening the alliance on a voluntary and autonomous basis. In other words, the total power of their political, economic and national defense alliance stems from the coordination of each country's autonomous and active contributions. The Warsaw Pact, CEMA and the entire system of bilateral contracts and agreements constitute the international legal and organizational framework of the alliance.

Along with an identical social system and the same basic objectives, every socialist country has numerous idiosyncracies as well. Their weight in world politics and in the world economy, their international possibilities, responsibilities and burdens--all these are different. They also differ in their natural and economic resources and their need for an international economic division of labor. The differences in their economic and social conditions are substantial, partly because they did not begin building socialism at the same time and under the same conditions. The diversity of their pasts and cultural traditions must be also taken into consideration. All this diversity influences not only the internal conditions for socialism but also the effects of international factors, world politics and world economy on each country. The characteristic aspects of domestic and foreign policies of the individual socialist countries and their parties are determined not only by their different resources but also by subjective factors.

In the present interpretation of the union within our community and of common interests which are the basis of this union--which points out the diversity that is apparent in the socialist countries' concrete reality and stresses their related national interests--we must begin with this premise: common interest is part of the actual national interests of the cooperating socialist countries and, conversely, the strengthening of the union fosters the implementation of each country's rightful efforts. Union does not mean complete identification but the correct recognition of mutual interests, the coordination of national interests and, accordingly, the development of action which is coordinated and is oriented toward the same goal but which varies in its concrete forms. A union interpreted this way does not violate nor diminish the sovereignty of the individual countries; on the contrary, it fosters it.

An important element of the union of socialist countries is a mutual interest in each other's successes. When we emphasize that cooperation among the socialist countries is important for us, our basic premise is that the success of our nation--along with the success of our work--is inseparable from the way our allies (those countries whose goal is to build a socialist society based on an ideology that is identical with ours) carry out their tasks. Similarly, our success also has a beneficial effect on the other socialist countries. If we stop for whatever reason, the common cause will also suffer. It is thus in the mutual interest of the socialist countries to help each other in every possible way to carry out the tasks of building socialism.

One of the most fundamental mutual interests of the socialist countries is connected with the efficient solution of economic tasks and the solution of difficulties which are partly the result of the new period of growth and partly the consequence of the world economy. These problems are also related to potentially faulty political and economic measures and to the past inability of the economic management system and the cooperative mechanism of the socialist countries to react at the right time and in the right way to the new requirements. Solving these problems is an important requirement even from an international aspect, for the continued advancement of socialism depends primarily on the attractiveness of its example: our accomplishments are the best influences on the world.

Solving the economic difficulties of individual socialist countries and developing cooperation among them are closely connected. The fact that beginning with the latter part of the seventies, the European countries of the socialist community were facing similar problems at about the same time had its effects on bilateral and multilateral cooperation. A coordinated effort, a better use of the advantages inherent in socialist economic integration and the modernization of CEMA for this purpose may play an extremely important role in alleviating the economic problems of the member states. It is necessary then to find the causes of the problems, to coordinate the main directions of the member states' strategies of economic development and their economic policies through consultation, to adapt the mechanism of cooperation to the new requirements and to work out the proper measures for solving these problems.

The improvement of CEMA's work and the development of cooperation among the socialist countries would make our position stronger in the world economy, would increase our competitiveness and would create better conditions for improving our partnerships with capitalist countries. It is not our goal to eliminate or limit the economic relations between socialist and capitalist countries. It was not the socialist countries that employed disadvantageous discrimination or proclaimed boycotts or took measures to limit economic cooperation between East and West. They are not striving for national or communal autarky; on the contrary, on the basis of equality and mutual advantages, they are striving to expand relations.

The mutual interests of the socialist countries necessitate not only a closer cooperation but also a mutual respect for individual characteristics. Finding, working out and employing solutions that are adapted to the various characteristics of each country and that realistically reckon with concrete conditions are essential tasks for the success of socialist construction. The past development of the socialist countries has proven through many examples that it is detrimental to the common cause if national characteristics are neglected and the ways of other socialist countries with different characteristics are imitated. Such practices may lead to problems or even grave tragedies just as neglecting the general laws of the socialist revolution and the building of socialism may.

All the present economic difficulties of the socialist countries are connected with the beginning of a new period of socialist development. This is why the most important task everywhere is intensive development, the increase of efficiency and the modernization of production technologies. The energy crisis, the worsening world economy and the shrinking of markets have an effect on all of us. Our main goals are identical and our political means are similar. Yet all this cannot mean that the tasks should be uniform. The fact that the situation is worse makes it necessary for each country to find new resources and take individual potentialities more into consideration. The maximal use of each country's potential and the coordination of appropriate solutions will help us attain our mutual goals.

The multitude of ways corresponds to the wealth of reality; it does not weaken the alliance but further increases the significance of learning from each other's experiences. It is right to expect that we learn from one another.

In correctly interpreting the identity of purpose and the multitude of ways, we must always consider that there are no solutions in the absolute sense, only solutions that, under the given concrete circumstances, have proven successful from the standpoint of building socialism. Thus it is wrong, or even detrimental, to be constantly skeptical about the ways of others just as it is wrong to insist that our solutions are the only right ones.

There are not abstract common objectives in socialist foreign policy that are independent from the characteristic interests of the individual countries. The main task in developing efforts of foreign policy at the communal level and of common goals and tasks is the coordination of actual national interests. A multitude of facts prove that common initiatives are successful if the individual socialist countries make maximum use of their own possibilities in foreign policy, including those relations based on historical traditions. And we can add that every socialist country has her own distinct goals in foreign policy and in the international efforts connected with her characteristic potential and the rightful interests of her people that do not contradict common socialist objectives.

In the present complex period of socialism the positive or negative effects of international relations on development are enhanced. The threat of thermonuclear war to the very existence of mankind directly contradicts our socialist goals, and even mandatory armament itself ties down huge amounts of material resources that could be used for social purposes. Under these conditions, the greatest and the common interest of every socialist country is to develop international conditions conducive to implementing the great social and economic program of socialism. This makes it necessary to slow down the arm race, to create a military balance at the lowest possible level, to maintain and increase the dialogue and relations between the socialist and capitalist countries and to expand cooperation based on mutual interests. The socialist countries will be able to create such conditions only through a coordinated stand and mutual initiatives, as was demonstrated last January in Prague by the Warsaw Pact. Each socialist country has her own role and responsibility in the implementation of these proposals. This is true, above all, of the Soviet Union, which as the world's first socialist state has played--and continues to play--a historic role. As a result of her development, a situation in world politics and military power which helps maintain world peace has been created; her great power and international activity are the foundation of the people's security and of the common cause of socialism.

Thirty-five years ago our people stepped on the socialist road of development and stayed on it even in the most difficult times. This circumstance determines the circle of our allies, friends and adversaries. We have an interest in the worldwide advancement of national independence, social progress and the cause of socialism. As a result of her geographic, natural and economic characteristics, our country is a traditionally "open" country, that is, it has an existential interest in peaceful and balanced international political and economic conditions; this corresponds to the common goals and the success of the common efforts of the socialist countries. Contrary to the impression nurtured by Western bourgeois propaganda, we are reckoning with the potentialities and national characteristics of our country not only in connection with the new questions

emerging in the course of building socialism but also in connection with defining and implementing the common goals of socialist foreign policy. The Hungarian People's Republic has been instrumental in the common initiatives which are directed toward avoiding the danger of a war that threatens to destroy mankind and toward improving relations between countries of different social systems. These goals are mutual and at the same time are entirely compatible with our national interests. In the course of these efforts--just as in the implementation of our characteristic interests connected with the openness and the other attributes of our country--we will make use of all possibilities and means available for Hungary and Hungarian foreign policy.

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CSO: 2500/149

TARNOBRZEG PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED

Tasks To Cure Economy Effectively

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 14 Jan 83 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Robert Chmielewski by Z. D.]

[Text] The Fourth PZPR Province Reports-Election Conference deliberated in Tarnobrzeg in June 1981. Now, after half of the term has lapsed, the time has come to reflect on the past phase of activities. The forthcoming Province Reports Conference will carry this out. For an explanation of how these results look from the perspective of the average party member, we ask Robert Chmielewski--stock distributor at the Stalowa Wola Works plant, holding a seat as delegate to the Province Conference.

[Answer] This was an unusually turbulent period, rich in events. Passing the program of activities during the Fourth Province Conference, the majority of us certainly did not imagine under what difficult conditions it would have to be accomplished. At least the sharp rise of social tension in the second half of 1981, strikes, then the introduction of martial law, and the making of many grave, not always popular decisions must be recalled. It is not surprising that the fulfillment of the program did not proceed smoothly.

However, I believe that the chief directives given at that time were fulfilled successfully. Selected through democratic elections, the province party authorities bet on close ties with basic party cells and with series of members and the working classes. And these contacts--I have noticed--occurred as a result of normal dealings. We proposed a greater democratization of life in the party. We can also speak of progress in this sphere. There was no shortage of open, critical discussion at party meetings even during the period of martial law. We have already managed to forget such phenomena as "staged" discussions and the secretary's censorship of address--how short a time since August 1980.

I also believe that we succeeded in strengthening and consolidating party ranks. Of course, many left our ranks--they did not endure the strain, so to

peak. At our mill, since the beginning of the term, we deleted 56 persons from the party roll, that is, 19 percent. But what is important is that we were able to create a suitable atmosphere and respond at the right time when conflict situations were increasing. At least the progress of the reports meetings testifies to the growth of party strength. The complaints and so-called nit-pickings gave way to concrete discussion. Nonparty individuals are coming to us more and more frequently with their problems. This testifies to the growth of the authority of the entire party.

[Question] Besides internal party issues, a very large portion of the program of the Fourth Province Conference was taken up by economic problems...

[Answer] And these continue to be, to this day, perhaps the most difficult problems. It is because the situation is assessed on the basis of the supplying of the market, the standard of living, and meeting people's needs. Everyone knows that there will be no improvements in this area without a rise in production. And that is why the fact that profitable changes are finally beginning to occur in the production field is so significant. We are instituting the economic reform for which we so unanimously vouched for during the Fourth Province Conference. Its first effects are already apparent in our mill. For example, earlier, only management was interested in production results, but now--and I am watching this closely--it is already different. After they finish their shift, workers look in the book, kept in their section, in order to check on how the day's work came out. Pressures are beginning to be placed on supervision, so that work be better organized, raw materials better looked after, and the performance of equipment maintained. This is with the understanding that further activities in this sphere are essential. We must produce more frugally, use less energy, at least by eliminating the inefficient work of machines and, simultaneously, link this to wages.

I believe that the proposal for a more uniform distribution of investment means in the province was also able to be realized. I live in Modliborzyce and I perceive a greater concern by the province authorities for the development of those far removed from the gminas of Tarnobrzeg. The building of schools in our area has been accelerated and a health center is expanding. The modernization of a network of roads has been undertaken in neighboring Batorz.

[Question] Will the forthcoming Province Reports Conference, therefore, proceed under the positive sign of fortune...?

[Answer] I won't judge. Farmers surely will critically address some of the events. The issues of trade and supply in general, in my opinion, demand a critical look. We workers certainly will keep in mind the too-slow tempo of initiating economic reforms: to many of us it is still associated with complicated theoretical problems. There are still too few concrete results (of which I spoke). The main point of the matter is the system of wages, which is far from perfect. Half of my salary, for example, is made up of a variety of bonuses, awards, compensations and supplements. It is not always known even what this money is for and this, after all, does not further

productivity. In general, the economic problems and, consequently, the supplying of the working classes' needs must be emphasized still more in all of the party's activities. It is on this basis that we are being and will be assessed by all of society.

I think that a counter to the problems connected with the breaking of the indifference and apathy still observed in many circles should be found in the program at the next possible stage. It is necessary to release local initiatives that are serving a more rapid exit out of the crisis. At the mill, for example, we propose to create an architectural enterprise in order to accelerate the rate of apartment construction. More initiatives of the same kind are needed.

Even the best programs will not help if every party member will not feel responsible for its fulfillment and will not carry some concrete input into the life of his own environment.

Pre-Reports Conference Consultative Meetings

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 18 Jan 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by: (Z. Fl.) Z.D.]

[Text] (Own Information) Yesterday, the first consultative meetings, with the participation of delegates to the PZPR Province Reports Conference--which will deliberate on Monday, the 24th of this month--took place in Tarnobrzeg Province. During the meetings in Sandomierz, Staszow, Janow Lubelski and Nisko, the PZPR Province Committee [KH] reports of the midyear term, information on the subject of the fulfillment of proposals from the program-election campaign reports of the Province Party Control Commission [WKPF] and Regional Headquarters [WKR], the assessment of activities by the Province Committee problems commission as well as the activity program project for the second part of the term were discussed. Issues connected with the merits and techniques of the forthcoming conference were also treated.

During the meetings in Sandomierz, in which delegates from this region--KW secretary Jerzy Zaranski, as well as Vice Governor Boleslaw Gradzinski--participated, the main points of the report and other documents were approved. The high level of fulfillment of party suggestions, the form of genuine relations between the authorities and society--which is expressed in, among other things, the direct contacts between them, progress toward internal party democratization, a more equitable treatment of the interests of apartment dwellers in particular areas of the province and, finally, exceptionally good production-economy results in the local industry were counted as positive.

The low level of ideological and educational work, inadequate preparation of a portion of the active members for political work, insufficient improvement in the activities of trade and supplying the market, as well as a certain regress in apartment construction were acknowledged as shortcomings in the work of the party and in economic activities.

Comments and proposals, which will most certainly be reflected in the course of the conference deliberations, were offered during the animated discussion. They concern the uneven development of apartment construction in certain urban centers of the region, the too low outlays foreseen in the projected three-year plan for health service investments, as well as many still unresolved problems in the areas of agriculture and food management.

In Nisko, comments were also offered on the material presented during the meeting of delegates to the PZPR Reports Conference in Tarnobrzeg, in which KW PZPR Secretary Stanislaw Pawlik and Executive Board member and Vice Governor Jozef Jakubowicz participated as well. In the opinion of the delegates, among others, the problems of education were too superficially treated, and the information on the work of the KW PZPR problems commission aroused an unsatisfied need. Economic and capital expenditure problems in several gminas were also raised.

Regional Consultative meetings are taking place today in Tarnobrzeg, Stalowa Wola and Opatow.

Resolutions--No Cure--All

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 31 Jan 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by: Z.D.]

[Text] (Own Information) The substance of the deliberations and resolutions of the joint CC PZPR Plenum and the SC ZSL continues to be debated animatedly in rural circles. The presentation of agricultural and food management problems in the center of interest of the highest party authorities and the ZSL awakens the hope of farmers in the present economic situation for more effective than hitherto aid for the country, in all aspects of the economy. The main issue is a better supply of agriculture as well as the creation of conditions for profitability and stabilization in the agricultural economy. In this sphere, the resolution of the plenary meeting creates--in the opinion of the farmers--prospects for the future. However, there are also misgivings.

"Yes, there are misgivings, which are being openly voiced in the countryside," states the Tarnobrzeg KW PZPR farm commission chairman and director of the Vegetable Experimental Works in Boguslawice, Andrzej Galicki. "They arise from the bad experiences of the recent past. After all, we also had a green light for agriculture in the seventies. There were splendid resolutions and programs. Everything, however, became distorted in the course of being carried out. The majority of the pertinent mottoes and maxims included in the agricultural policy plan were not at all reflected in reality. That is why I believe that an immediate, consistent fulfillment of the accepted directives for activities is now required. A resolution alone will not, as experience teaches, solve any problems. Government decisions should already be subsidizing: executive orders should be given out. The point, however, is not to lose the spirit of the resolution in this administrative activity. I believe that much of the responsibility in relation to this rests not only upon the

authorities. The rural government, growers' and breeders' associations, and farm cooperatives should also look after these issues. Besides, there is nothing preventing anyone 'at the bottom' any longer from taking up activities connected with taking advantage of agricultural reserves and the creation of better working and living conditions in the countryside.

"I think that the Vegetable Experimental Works in Bogislawice will also not have a shortage of initiatives...

"It is true that science and, therefore, the research, experimental and training institutions stood somewhat on the margin of being the central agricultural problems. There was simply a bit of a shortage of means for those activities. But must experimental-training ventures necessarily be financed by the ministry? After all, the patron of experimental work, which could have enormous significance for a given region or group of planters, could also be a local cooperative or trade union. We have already had positive experiences in this sphere. I admit that our plant did not begin practical work until 1980, but with cooperation from the Horticulture Cooperative we already succeeded in putting into practice cabbage-growing on flaps of perforated foil. Thanks to this we already had a considerable volume of cabbage during the third week in May. Now we are preparing to begin work on the cultivation of a variety of tomatoes not requiring stakes and seed cabbage (without the need to transplant seedlings). Such varieties would be instrumental in a significant decrease in the labor-intensiveness of cultivation and harvesting. And everyone knows how much labor and time are valued in agriculture.

"However, before the results of work by the Experimental Works become normal practice, the farmer must be adequately prepared in the technical respects.

"Obviously, agriculture demands the solution of many problems. Most of all, supply problems. Exactly in horticulture, at least, in our region in this respect it is not the worst. It is bad there where the soil is inferior and broken up. Besides land reclamation, the greatest current problem is the aging of the countryside population. If this process will continue to advance, then we will be fed by annuitants and pensioners. Much is said among us about the flight of youth from the countryside. We devoted much attention to this issue during the KW PZPR Plenum as well. I believe that it is not serious there where there are habits and skills of good farm management, where there are farm implements, roads, waterworks and conditions for the development of cultural life. We observe the largest flight from those areas where the soil is worse and, in connection with this, where the neglect is greater. In such regions, the youth must be shown what to do and how to do it in order to be able to live richly in the countryside. This is the role of the Provincial Center for Agricultural Progress [WOPR], advisory services, and also local organizations and cooperatives."

Main Activity Program Directions

Rzeszów NOWINY in Polish 3 Feb 83 p 3

[Article by Zbigniew Flaszka]

[Text] The basic document passed by the PZPR Province Reports Conference in Tarnobrzeg is the program for organization activities for the second half of the term of party authorities.

It was transmitted considerably earlier because, in September of last year, the draft of this program was the subject of discussion for delegates at the branch party organization [GOP] and the basic party organization [POP] reports meetings, factory committee conferences as well as channels at the basic rank, and also at the meetings of consultative delegates that preceded the Province Reports Conference deliberations.

It should not be surprising, then, that such a well-known and discussed document was submitted to a thorough treatment in the course of the deliberations of the conference. Fundamental improvements were introduced into it, and even the text of an entire section dealing with economic stabilization and the exit out of the economic crisis was changed. To label all of these changes most concisely, they reflected the benefits of just such a study of basic materials at the conference in the course of the party reports campaign.

The tasks for internal party work were defined in the program in a concise but, at the same time, substantial way: ideological-educational, development of socialistic democracy and the strengthening of law and order.

It was particularly emphasized that the Province Committee, the basic rank channels and party organizations will, by means of political action, work toward guaranteeing social peace, normal work rhythm for the entire economy of a region, as well as securing gradual progress in isolating the political enemy.

Concentrated attention for a further strengthening of organizational, ideological and political unity among the ranks of the province party organizations is acknowledged as particularly vital. It is proposed that this be achieved by winning over each of its [the party's] members for active work in the party, especially workers and peasants, as well as by a distinct increase in requirements for all PZPR members, especially those who are active, those members in authority, and those persons working in managerial positions.

Activities aimed at improving the distribution of powers of the party in certain circles in the province, with special attention to strengthening the powers in workers', rural, teachers' and youth movements, and also in culture, transportation, construction and health services, will also be undertaken.

Attention was turned in the program to proper formation of the party membership and, then, the quality of its ranks, emphasizing along with this the need for strict compliance with statutory criteria of recommended duties and with the augmented requirements for candidates for membership.

The elevation of the role and standing of the party gathering as a basic forum for the expression of opinions on the drafts of party programs, the defining of tasks and designating the means for accomplishing the resolutions of the programs, and also the forming of ideological attitudes of members as well as the inspiration of effective action on the matter of solving problems in their environment, are acknowledged as essential. Important standing was given to the further improvement of contacts between members of party province leadership, basic channels, factory committees and, finally, full-time political workers, and party members, personnel at places of employment, as well as other socioprofessional circles in the region. It is admitted that the vital meetings with the working classes should occur on the plane of a confrontation with the practical usefulness of the ventures undertaken by every party committee. The results of these meetings must be used to improve the efficiency of the work by party channels and organizations, to activate national councils, to better the work style of state and economic administrations, and also to conduct a suitable personnel policy. Last of all, it is stressed that it is necessary to respond more quickly to people's questions and problems, as well as the burning needs of the circles, particularly workers', assuring a higher competence in the examination and settlement of suggestions, letters and complaints directed to the party channels and organizations.

Much attention has been devoted to the conference to the principles of a staff policy. The record in the program on this subject, modified by the delegates, reads as follows: To institute the staff policy rules, passed by the CC Plenum, consistently throughout the province, taking into account the promotion of young people, the wholehearted, professionally well-prepared to fulfill functions and take over leadership positions. The basic criteria for selection to leadership positions at all levels are: 1. sociopolitical attitude, 2. professional knowledge, 3. leadership skills.

The development and strengthening of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth is regarded to be a very essential element of socialist democracy, and law and order. It has been stated that we should aspire for a formation of PRON cells in every village, place of employment and institution. This movement should rally all those who have the further, successful development of People's Poland at heart.

Party channels and organizations should strive in this movement for an increase in youth and women members, as well as influential nonparty residents in the cities and countryside, support the activities of its cells, and carry out the proposals and stipulations of PRON.

One of the main threads of the conference discussion was the issue connected with the stabilization of the economy and an exit out of the economic crisis. The relevant section of the program, redrafted by the Consultative Commission, and accepted by the delegates, is very substantial and addresses such issues as the growth in industrial production, especially through a better utilization of raw material and human resource potential, a change in the production structure, depending on an enlargement of the section of products earmarked for supplying the market and for export, a modernization of it, decreasing

its energy and material intensivity, as well as improving quality, and also a restoration of marketplace stability by increasing the delivery of goods and services, and the restriction of excessive and unfounded financial profits.

Admittedly, the program does qualify the means of local solutions, but only those that are very important to the economic problems of the country. It was recommended to province authorities and the management of enterprises that they continue to take steps to obtain a decision from the government on the issue of the construction of a new sulfur mine in the Osiek region, tied to the second stage of construction of the Polaniec Power Station, which is to provide it with essential thermal energy through the smelting of deposits. Similar activities should be undertaken, in cooperation with the Councillors Association, for the development of the production of construction equipment and, in particular, caterpillar tractors and high-powered pipe-layers, as well as continue to defer the capital expenditure of building a shop at the Sandomierz WindowGlass Works [HSQ] for producing floating-glass.

Deserving particular attention is that entry, which deals with the acceptance of rules, that states that means of realization and financial means required for offsetting unfulfilled work in the province in the area of environmental protection as well as the municipal infrastructure should be foreseen in the expenditures.

The inspirational-control function of the party in all spheres of socio-economic policy in the province was also strongly accentuated. Many tasks dealing with agriculture and food management, education and culture, as well as the improvement of social-living conditions for the working classes were assumed. By the motion voted upon by the delegates, all party channels and organizations are obligated to work out a detailed procedural plan for work, based on this document.

9891

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COMMENTATOR ASSAILS INTEGRITY OF CERTAIN CHURCH FIGURES

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 12-13 Mar 83 p 3

[Article by Andrzej Bujnicki: "Before the Awaited Visit"]

[Excerpts] Sixteen June, the date of Pope John Paul II's second visit to Poland, is fast approaching. The Joint Government-Episcopate Commission is now working on details concerning the route, the duration of the visit and technical arrangements. These are not trivial matters—our great countryman is not coming to Poland as an ordinary man whom fate has cast to the distant Vatican. He is coming as Pope John Paul II, head of the Catholic Church and the Vatican State, a state which has no land, no subjects and no army, but commands an immense moral authority, perhaps even the greatest in the world.

Now will the Pope be hosted by a group of private citizens; he comes at the invitation of the faithful, represented by the Polish Episcopate, and of the Polish Government. Two essential matters must be considered when arranging details of the visit. The first is that the faithful, the Catholic Church, the Polish nation and the state should benefit from the visit. The second is to ensure security for the distinguished guest. At least three attempts on the Pope's life have taken place during his short pontificate. The Pope's spontaneous personality and his desire for direct contact with people are beautiful and noble traits, but they give rise to dangers which must be eliminated on Polish soil. We are all individually, and as a nation, responsible for this.

But let us leave these matters to experts from the Joint Commission. May they debate peacefully and farsightedly, because results of this visit will extend far into the future and beyond Poland's borders. Let us deal with what depends on us alone, namely the climate which should be created for the visit to proceed with dignity befitting the distinguished guest's position.

It is no secret that for many years relations between the Catholic Church, which represents the interests of Catholic believers—the largest religious group in Poland—and the socialist state were not very good. We are not trying to explain this conflict in terms of personal disputes or different views about the socio-political system. The conflict, which is not quite yet a matter of the past, is a result of the laws of historical development. For many centuries the Catholic Church was not only a representative of its God on earth, but was also a lay power in Europe, with political power in the strict sense. The Catholic Church crowned kings and dethroned them.

Changes in the world's civilization and the social development of mankind pushed the Catholic Church towards matters which befitted its nature--affairs of the spirit, ideas and compassion--and stripped it of lay power. Like it or not, this is the meaning and the fact of historical development. Inter-war Polish authorities tried to separate the church and state, and although they did manage to weaken considerably the church's influence, they did not ultimately succeed. World War II speeded up secularization, which is now a fait accompli, and not only in Poland.

The Church understandably resisted renouncing political power of its own free will. State authorities were also guilty in that they did not always remove the church in a proper and dignified way from positions in which it did not belong. No doubt both sides made mistakes in the process. The respect that we atheists have for the late Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski is largely due to the fact that he was able to prevent human dramas in the course of this extremely difficult historic process. After all, religious wars which are still waged in the world cost hundreds and thousands of lives!

Historical processes occur very slowly. It is therefore no cause for wonder that now that the separation of church and state has been accomplished and approved, we occasionally witness attempts to involve the church in contemporary politics and to place it in political power structures. Although this is understandable, the instigators of such activities should know better than to expect any approval. History has already passed its final judgement on the matter; those who would like to reverse its course and escape its laws deserve pity at best.

Unfortunately, we still witness many attempts to reactivate the church as a political force in Poland. The daily press continues to report such occurrences. Let us recall the sermon, famous in its time, delivered at Jasna Gora by Przemyśl Bishop Ignacy Tokarczuk, or angry lies preached by Dominican Friar Czesław Straczynski at a Swinoujście church, who said, "Now a Pole cannot respect a holy place. Grenades and violence. A German knew how to respect a church as a holy place." Lech Walesa's spiritual advisor, Father Jankowski of Gdansk, joked with West German correspondents that "a Pole is like a radish--red on the outside and white inside." I could quote many more instances of behavior which did not befit the dignity and solemnity of the priesthood. We have not heard what sanctions the church has applied to its functionary Father Zych who, to phrase it delicately, allowed policeman Karos to be murdered in Warsaw, dreaming he was a chaplain in a nonexistent army of a nonexistent underground state, for which he now serves a prison sentence.

I myself wonder what the status is of Father Franciszek Blachnicki, for instance. Father Blachnicki is famous in Poland as the creator and organizer of the so-called oasis movement, in which tens of thousands of young people have been to youth camps which are a kind of holiday which lasts 2 weeks or so. They were strange oases--principles of secrecy were maintained (participants were not registered at administrative offices and no names were used) and anti-socialist slogans were preached alongside religious dogmas. The church ascribed an official rank to this "spontaneous" movement (how easy it is to encounter such odd spontaneity in Poland!) by nominating Father Blachnicki as

national moderator of the oasis movement. However, Father Blachnicki found that oases were not enough to realize his program, so in 1979 he set up a crusade for the liberation of man, then launched a campaign of great evangelization of society and in March 1980 published the Jasna Gora Declaration. The declaration appealed to society to help anti-socialist groups operating in Poland and to boycott Sejm elections.

The stormy year 1981 showed why Father Blachnicki needed oases, crusades for the liberation of man (cadres) and the great evangelization (sympathizers). In November 1981 he founded...a Christian Democratic political party called the Christian Service for National Liberation. At that time he already had a party organization for the job and a group of sympathizers—candidate members of the new party. To learn whom and from what the Christian service would liberate, it is enough to read its program, beautifully entitled "Truth + Liberation."

Having founded a Christian-Democratic political party, Father Blachnicki went abroad with his Praetorian Guard to seek for the Polish Christian-Democrats support from their ideological counterparts on the Rhine. Martial law thwarted Father Blachnicki's plans. He stayed in West Germany and established an oasis center in Karlsburg. From there, he sent propaganda material, equipment and instructions to Poland for the struggle against the people's authorities.

The oasis game did not last long. After some weeks in Karlsburg, Father Blachnicki founded a Christian Service for the Liberation of Nations. As you see—the more one gets, the more one wants—Father Blachnicki extended his activities to liberate not only Poland, but other nations as well!

The new organization is very lively; it managed to organize two international seminars. During the first (August 27-29, 1982), Father Blachnicki presented a paper entitled "The Role of the Church in the Permanent Post-Yalta Crisis and Under Martial Law in Poland" and inspired the seminar to pass a resolution entitled "Program for Agreement Between Poles in the Struggle for the Country's Sovereignty and Liberation." Participants in the second international symposium, which took place on 11-14 November 1982, debated "methods of the liberation struggle by nations held captive by Moscow." That symposium, too, ended in a resolution—"A Manifesto on the Liberation Struggle of Peoples of Socialist Countries."

Father Blachnicki is a man of unlimited ambition and energy. Not only does he actively struggle for "liberation," but he can also find the time to win new supporters. He carries on extensive propaganda activities, grants interviews, delivers lectures for Radio Free Europe and publishes the bulletin "Truth + Liberation." It seems that Father Blachnicki's activities hardly pass as religious ministrations, so I wonder what Father Blachnicki's status is, and what his church superiors in Poland make of his activities. Having learned the lesson of democracy and freedom of speech taught to Jerzy Urban, I dare not ask that question. Nevertheless, Father Blachnicki's religious business relations are indisputably a very interesting matter!

In a recent issue of TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, Jo Turowicz published an article entitled "Waiting for a Great Meeting." The article urges believers to pray for the Pope's visit to Poland. Turowicz writes that "the visit should proceed in an atmosphere of dignity, peace and moral integrity of the entire society," that the church "never tires in its work" to achieve this integrity and that "state authorities have the principal role to play in this field."

"Moral integrity of the entire society" before a papal visit to Poland is especially important because ideological and political subversion centers in the West are doing their best to disrupt this integrity. They first assured their listeners that the regime will never allow a papal visit because it would not survive it. When the date of the visit was released and officially confirmed, Radio Free Europe and other "propagators of the truth" suddenly ceased to sympathize with the Primate of Poland, Jozef Cardinal Glemp. RFE even joked about "Comrade Glemp" and the West German news agency DPA called its dispatch from Warsaw "Violent Dispute in Poland about Primate Glemp's Tack" (30 December 1982).

We will surely not attain this integrity if we keep silent about Father Blachnicki's feats, Father Zych's complicity in murder and if we connive with attacks against the Primate.

It is difficult for us lay people, atheists and PZPR members, to speak in public about the Catholic Church's internal affairs. But we shall welcome our countryman, the pope, sincerely and hospitably, not only because he is the first Polish pope, but also because he is a wise and good man. Let us begin to work together to give him a welcome deserving the pope and deserving the Polish nation.

Prayers alone are not enough.

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GDANSK PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED

Reports Conference on Strengthening Party

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 19 Jan 83 pp 1,2

[Article by (A. Met.)]

[Text] Yesterday a district party conference took place in the Gdansk-Portowa District, with the participation of Stanislaw Bejger, deputy Politburo member, first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee. Other participants included: Jan Labedzki, the PZPR Central Committee member, Mieczyslaw Chabowski and Andrzej Karnabal, the Voivodship Committee secretaries, Jerzy Andrzejewski, the MO[Citizen's Milita]voivodship commander and brigadier general, Stefan Milewski, deputy governor and Stanislaw Szydlowski, deputy mayor of Gdansk. The Executive Board reports paper was presented by the first secretary of the PZPR District Committee of Gdansk-Portowa, Wlodzimierz Idaszak.

The past half-year cycle of the District Committee was characterized by an enormous intensification of diverse social and political phenomena: periods of increasing social tensions, revaluation of concepts and attitudes of party members, the PZPR pregress campaign and the results of the Ninth Special Congress, intense ideological and political struggle, strike actions, demonstrations and street riots, the imposition of the martial law, implementation of the economic reform and price increases, and the rebuilding of the political and organizational unity of the PZPR, among other things. Moreover, the reactivation of workers self-management and the formation of new labor unions, and finally, the suspension of martial law, took place. The party restored itself politically, purified ideologically and strengthened organizationally during the period of martial law. The district party organization now has 10,109 members and candidates in 239 basic and division party organizations.

The work of the district organization was directed toward popularizing and implementing the achievements of the Ninth Special Party Congress and several consecutive Central Committee sessions. Practically speaking, until last year the District Committee of Gdansk Portowa undertook, among other things, actions toward creating conditions for the implementation of the economic reform, activization of youth organizations, creating conditions

for the reactivation of workers' self-management, defining forms and methods of ideological and educational influence on the workers and enterprises of the district, increasing the effectiveness of the struggle against the political enemy and activization of party ranks toward a growing normalization of national life and toward shaping a political atmosphere favorable to the formation of new trade unions.

During the discussion, current problems regarding party work, the socio-economic situation and the implementation of the economic reform, as well as overcoming the crisis in the marine economy, ecological problems, and the environmental protection of the Gdansk Coast were focused upon. Problems of patriotic education of the youth, activization of youth and social organizations, and questions connected with the explanation of the emerging of crises in the history of People's Poland was an important element of the debate.

In concluding the discussion, Stanislaw Bejger, first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee said that the district conference fulfilled its role by affirming that the reports conference is a step forward in strengthening the party, among other things. The party organization of Gdansk-Portowa is the largest and most important concentration of the working class on the Gdansk Coast, and the most important social base of the PZPR. Efforts must be made to regain the confidence of the working class, which the PZPR represents, said Stanislaw Bejger. In conditions of intense political struggle, we have managed to consolidate the party ranks and isolate the political enemy. The task of assuring peaceful and safe work has been accomplished, nevertheless we must be aware that the enemy does not give up and will continue to undertake actions against the party and people's power. Every party organization and every member of the PZPR must feel responsible for the further development of the sociopolitical and economic situation of our country. The party's leading role should result from the authority of the POP /Basic Party Organization/, whose allies will be trade union cells, workers self-management and state administration organs. The main battlefront will be shifting now from the political to the economic, social and living conditions spheres. Presently the most important thing is to concentrate on the practical implementation of the resolutions of the party's Ninth Congress.

Audit Commission Plenary Session

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 19 Jan 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (maj)]

[Text] Yesterday in the Gdansk PZPR Voivodship Committee, the Voivodship Audit Commission [WRW] deliberated. Leon Brancewicz, secretary of the Voivodship Committee, and Central Audit Commission members Urszula Tomaszewska and Zdzislaw Stepien participated in the debate, which was presided by WKR Chairman Bogdan Kasprzycki.

The WKR report for the period from the Eighteenth Reports and Election Conference was presented. During that period the Voivodship Audit Commission dealt with the control of interparty work, regularity of membership dues payments, management of party funds and assets, supervision over the implementation of party resolutions, and collaboration with local audit commissions, inter alia.

Here are some of the most important control tasks realized by the WKR in the period discussed: control of the realization of the motions and postulates in the campaign preceding the Ninth Party Congress, control of the budget expenditures of the Voivodship Committee, control of the realization of the tasks assigned by the Politburo in regard to strengthening of party ranks in the conditions of martial law, review of the work of regional party work centers, control of the state of party members' files, continuous overseeing of the implementation of the Eighteenth Reports and Election Conference and the Central Committee's Seventh Plenum resolutions.

In specific issues, the WKR undertook in the past period the control of the RSW "Prasa-Książka-Ruch" [Press-Book-Movement] and, together with the Voivodship Commission of Party Control, evaluated the activity of the PZPR Paris Commune Committee in Skarszewy, among other things.

With relation to all the WKR problems discussed in the report, appropriate conclusions were drawn and recommendations made, which were passed on to the secretaries and Executive Board of the Voivodship Committee.

The plenum unanimously accepted the WKR report, as well as the program of work for the first half of 1983 and confirmed personnel changes in the commission. At the conclusion of the plenary meeting of the Voivodship Audit Commission, Bogdan Kasprzycki presented to the audience the information from the conference of the WKR directors, which had taken place in Warsaw and concerned the course of the party reports campaign.

Party Activities on Village Problems

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 2 Feb 83 pp 1, 4

[Text] Never before were the problems of agriculture of such importance in the activities of the party and the government as now. This can be confirmed by the resolutions included in the program of the Ninth Special PZPR Congress and later developed in the resolution of the final, joint Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and the SC ZSL [Supreme Committee of the United Peasants' Party].

Despite the industrial character of the Gdansk region, the problems of supplying the population with food, raising the efficiency of food production and improving living conditions in the countryside were and are the subject of continuous interest of the coastal organization and of the PZPR local units. Meetings and conferences which have been taking place during the presently ending reports campaign in the Gdansk Voivodship party organization also devoted much attention to them.

The success of the PZPR's new agricultural policy depends to a large degree on how strong the party is in the countryside, on the efficiency with which it fulfills its inspirational, political, organizational and control functions.

To discuss this, we have invited the following party activists from the Gdansk Voivodship for a conversation: Krystyna Jackiewicz, private farmer from Trabki Male, member of the Executive Board of the Parish Committee in Trabki Male; Zbigniew Brunke, director of the Regional Center of Party Work in Kartuzy; Kazimierz Ciachowski, first secretary of the Parish Committee in Kartuzy; Kazimierz Ciachowski, first secretary of the Parish Committee in Stezyca; and Mieczyslaw Witos, private farmer, secretary of the POP in Ban'no.

On the side of the editorial board the following people participated in the discussion: Stanislaw Dziadon, deputy editor in chief, Jaroslaw Galikowski, head of the agricultural section, and Maciej Geysztor, head of the party and social section.

[GLOS] One can often hear about the lesser activity of the rural POP as opposed to party units in industrial enterprises, about their weaker initiating and control function, about the rural organizations' reliance on the initiative of external organization. Are these just so called islands of party activity, or can we indeed talk about a certain decline of rural party organizations?

[A. Brunke] I do not agree with this opinion. The situation of party organizations in the rural milieu is simply different than in the industrial one. They act in different conditions and fulfill different functions. Certainly the possibilities of rural POP's influence on the course of economic processes are smaller, however the countryside is not a monolithic organism like a large industrial enterprise is. However, the party as a whole is not weaker.

The party in the countryside at the most difficult time was able to defend itself from the extremist actions of the opposition, often much better than in the city. It defended the self-governing farmers' organization: branch unions, agricultural circles, and the circles of farm women.

The activity of some POP's indeed declined, but this was the result of certain processes taking place in the countryside after the liquidation of the counties. The decision to strengthen the parish centers had to result in the weakening of the role and significance of the villages belonging to the parishes. In many of these villages, servicing centers, stores and schools were liquidated, and their functions concentrated precisely in the parish centers. The importance of the parish party organization, which took over a number of roles played before by the basic organizations, increased as well. This does not however mean that rural POP's are acting in isolation. The ties with the parish organizations exist and are quite strong. At least it is so in my area. In order to coordinate the political, ideological

and educational work, the Regional Centers of Party Work [ROPP] were created. The ROPP which I head tries to fulfill these tasks. We also provide the organizations with informational and instructional materials, we have taken over the training of instructors for all the POP's, training of candidates and new party members.

[M. Witos] After August 1980 and the following year, our organization was becoming weaker and weaker. Attendance and activity of the members at meetings dropped. There was, nevertheless, a group of comrades who proved themselves in precisely this most difficult period. The animation of party activity ensued after 13 December 1981. Banino is a farming village, although we also have a workers' organization. As a party, we are focusing our activity on the problems of our own milieu, the village. We want our farmers to live better.

For example, in connection with the construction of an airport in Rebiechow, our area was excluded from investment regions. People saw no reason why they should not be allowed to build anything in their own village, as they did not mind the airplanes at all. Finally, after long efforts by our organization and the parish organization, we were able to make renovations of livestock buildings. Gradually we were allowed to build new buildings. In the seventies there was an attempt to take away our center for grain procurement and move it to Zukow. This would make things easier for the GS [Parish Cooperative], but not for our farmers, who would have to transport their grain ten kilometers further. After the party intervened, the idea was abandoned. Our milk purchasing center was also to be moved. It is true that it was a primitive one, with no running water, nevertheless it was ours. The day when the center was closed, farmers sat on the milk cans and the party secretary phoned Kartusy. The director of the regional milk cooperative came over and promised that the milk buying center would stay. Now we already have a new, modern one.

[K. Ciachowski] It is a question of the party's authority in the countryside. The party organization is active when it deals with problems of the milieu in which it operates. The countryside problems are the following: to increase agricultural production, build and modernize roads, supply production means; rural self-government, the youth problem, and others. When the party tackles and solves these problems, its authority in the milieu grows. Let me give you examples. We have in our parish an organization in Szymbark. The problem of this party organization, as well as five nearby POP's, was the question of opening a new bus route. With the power of the POP and the parish organization, this was solved positively. Now the parish's 1000 residents say that the party got it for them. Consistency in the realization of motions put forward by the POP is indispensable. As a secretary of the Parish Committee, I cannot imagine how I could avoid answering a question about a concrete motion, about its implementation...

[GLOS] Do you, comrade, often have to explain at meetings why this or that motion has not yet been acted upon?

[K. Ciachowski] Except for the supplies, over which the parish authorities have no influence, we try to solve the majority of the farmers' problems directly, particularly the small, local ones.

The specific feature of small rural organizations is the implementation of party work programs through individual orders. Appointed comrades are responsible for particular spheres of village life: for the parish cooperative movement, fire protection, contacts with the youth, and so on. Afterwards they give an account of these assignments at the party meeting. Much also depends on the party secretary, his personal attitude and involvement.

In my parish, collaboration with the ZSL runs well. It so happens that it is the party that comes out with new initiatives, but as a rule the ZSL supports them. When the problem we want to tackle concerns the whole village, we discuss it at an open party meeting.

[GLOS] Do you not get the impression, comrades, that the coalition system of wielding power, as exemplified by the common plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and the SC ZSL, shows signs of weakening in the lower echelons of the organization?

[Z. Brunke] I would like to argue this point. In my opinion, this coalition system exists and always existed in the countryside. We work and have worked together in creating self-government organizations, in elections to representative organs or cooperative movement councils. The party never commanded in the countryside. In the countryside, there also have existed for a long time various cooperative organizations whose work was supervised, for better or worse, by some self-government. Precisely in these lower echelons, on the regional level, there has always been a need to come to an understanding.

[GLOS] There is no doubt that in the rural environment, the measure of the party's authority is the undertaking by the party of problems which are vital to this milieu. Does not this apply also to the private farmer-party member's attitude, the efficiency of his farming activity, the degree in which he fulfills his agricultural producer's duties?

[K. Jaskiewicz] Two months ago, at the meeting of the Parish Committee's Executive Board, we were pondering the answer to the question: "How do farmer-party members fulfill their contract quotas for grain supplies?" As it turned out, nearly all the party members in the parish organization in Trabki Wielkie met these obligations one hundred percent.

[M. Witos] I delivered 13 tons of grain, but earlier, last spring, I also delivered 6 tons from the previous year's harvest. I intend to deliver two more tons additionally. I would like to get an allotment for a fertilizer spreading machine. Would you believe that on my 12 hectares I spread fertilizer by hand, directly from the bowl? Many other farmers are still in the same situation.

[GLOS] You have brought up the frustrating problem of production-means shortage. Have you tried to solve this problem through farmers' self-government?

[K. Jaskiewicz] In our village we had too few spreader-harvester machines. For the Agricultural Circles' Cooperative's [SKR] services one had to wait two, sometimes three days, while the hay could not wait for drying. We managed to buy this machine using the Farming Development Fund. We also have a common spreader for fertilizers, for grain, and a machine for digging out beets.

[M. Witos] Nobody intrudes into our management of this fund. Farmers themselves decide how it should be spent. Naturally, the POP has its share in these decisions. The farmers supported us when we suggested spending 300,000 zlotys from the fund on road modernization. This proves the trust in party initiatives.

[K. Jaskiewicz] I will say more; then it happens that funds are short for a particular purchase, the farmers willingly offer voluntary contributions so that this or that piece of equipment could be bought. The farm women's circle also contributed to these purchases, dedicating 12,000 zlotys received once as an award. The point was to help out in the work of their husbands. Too bad, though, that in order to buy the equipment it was necessary to go all the way to Koscierzyna, while the same one could be bought much closer, in Straszyn.

[Z. Brunke] This is an example of a badly understood centralization of distribution and a lack of social control with regard to institutions servicing agriculture, as well as lack of party control.

[GLOS] It is also the question of the "driving force" of a particular party organization. What then are the possibilities of overcoming these barriers which result from an individualistic attitude to economic interests, or else from the bureaucratic mentality?

[M. Witos] People servicing agriculture must know and understand the farmers' needs. We had a similar case. The building materials warehouses are in Rebiechowo, yet farmers from the neighborhood village, Banino, have to buy their cement in Zukow because Rebiechowo is located within the administrative boundaries of Gdansk. Once we were able to overcome this obstacle, but later the situation was reinstituted and the problem continues.

[Z. Brunke] This "driving force" was stronger before the administrative reform. The County Committee had larger possibilities of influencing the institutions servicing agriculture--seed centers, farming cooperatives, Parish Cooperatives [GS]. These institutions were adjusted to the size of the county and obliged to follow the county authorities' recommendations. Today they can focus their activity on selected parishes to the disadvantage of others.

Nevertheless, I am against a simplistic criticism of the activity of present local administration. It is untrue that the parish chiefs is the "lord of the manor." These people often are in a difficult situation. How can the chief satisfy everybody if he has only 15 tractors for 150 applicants?

[GLOS] Isn't there a need to strengthen the control functions of rural party organizations in enterprises working for agriculture during the period of implementing the economic reform? After all, these enterprises can choose to do tasks more advantageous for themselves than for the farmers?

[Z. Brunke] I think that in this regard we have to move to more indirect forms of party control. Many farmers come to the parish organization believing that the secretary can settle their problems right away. This is not always possible. The party cannot do the work of self-government or of the administrative organs which supervise the institutions servicing agriculture. The party should influence the work of these institutions by shaping correct attitudes of the party members working in them. As a party, we are interested in forming energetic rural self-governments. This is actually already happening in many SKR's, cooperative banks, and parish cooperatives, because these bodies, their supervisory councils and boards, include farmers themselves. The party cannot be blamed if self-government does not function properly. We can only negatively evaluate this self-government body's work and show that it does not take sufficient care of the farmers' interests. Anyway, the work of servicing institutions is also evaluated by parish councils and farmers' social and labor unions, whom the new statute guarantees such rights which they should more fully take advantage of.

[K. Ciachowski] We must also remember the significance of the village meeting. During such meetings the SOP, GS and all institutions are made accountable. This is social, democratic control. The motions put forward must later be honored.

[GLOS] Can we say that all farmers have already become acquainted with the contents of the new statutes on social and labor organizations, the cooperative law, and insurance? Do they know the privileges granted them by these important laws?

[Z. Brunke] Opinions on this subject are divided. There are places where this awareness exists and others where a lack of sufficient popularization of these laws is found, and work explaining their significance must be carried on. This is a current task, both for the party and for farmers' organizations. In my opinion, the press and television do not pay sufficient attention to these problems.

[GLOS] Let us however return to the common plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and the SC ZSL. How will the tasks resulting from the resolutions of the plenum be implemented?

[K. Ciachowski] We have already had a meeting with the chairman of the ZSL Parish Committee and we decided to convene a common plenary session of

the PZPR and the ZSL Parish Committees for the purpose of writing central resolutions on the tasks which result from the conditions and needs of our parish. Then we will draw up a program defining specific tasks in implementing the resolutions of the ninth Plenum for particular OOP's.

[M. Witos] A farmer must know that the resolution will not be treated as just a slogan. Anyway things are definitely improving. Supplies to the village are better. The Parish Union of Farmers' Circles and Organizations in Zukow last year distributed a considerable amount of farm equipment and tractors. Farmers believe that the supplies situation will be consistently improving.

[Z. Brunke] The resolution of the Ninth Plenum concerns itself not only with increasing the efficiency of agricultural production, but also with the whole complex of goals connected with equalizing the level of living conditions in the countryside and in the city. For example, there is a shortage of housing in the countryside, yet parishes have no housing policy. There is much to be done in the countryside in the realm of health care, education, culture, and municipal economy. Formerly, many of these problems were approached through social actions. Now farmers are often asking why they must build roads, bus stations, and waterworks through social actions, when similar investments in the city are built from municipal funds. I believe that social actions ought to be an addition and not the basis for building the social infrastructure in the countryside.

The problems of infrastructure, next to the problems connected with the intensification of agricultural production, were among the most frequently discussed themes during the current reports campaign in the countryside. I think that they will also come up in the debates and the resolution of the Voivodship Reports Conference, which will be meeting in a few days in Gdansk.

The conversation was recorded by: Maciej Geysztor and Jaroslaw Galikowski.

Reports Conference Resolution

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 8 Feb 83 pp 1, 3

[Text] The voivodship party organization in the reports period of June 1981-Feb 1983 passed through a historical stage of its activity. The main determinant of this stage was the struggle of progressive forces with the class enemy for socialist identity and for the realization of the resolutions of the Party's Special Ninth Congress and consecutive sessions of the Central Committee.

The imposition of martial law on 13 December 1983 put an end to social anarchy and initiated the normalization of national life as well as the process of the party's rebirth.

During the period of martial law, consolidation and mobilization of organizational activities of the basic cell level took place, allowing the

party organizations to carry out their statutory functions and realize party tasks. The actions of the Voivodship Organization, following the Seventh, Eighth, Ninth, and Tenth plenary session of the Central Committee, enabled further activization of party organizations, enterprise committees, and the POP and OOP's, particularly in industrial centers and large conglomerations of the working class. Increased activity in the basic party organizations in universities and academic circles was also noted.

The reports conference of the Gdansk Voivodship party organization, deliberating on 5 February 1983 in Gdansk, positively evaluates the activity of the voivodship organization and of its leadership in the process-processes of overcoming the sociopolitical and economic crisis and in the strengthening of the party in the voivodship.

The conference accepts the contents and evaluations included in the reports material of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Gdansk and in the reports of the Voivodship Audit Commission and Voivodship Party Control Commission. The conference has defined the following goals and directions of political activity in the second term of the Gdansk Voivodship party organization:

I. Tasks in the Realm of Interparty Work

The PZPR Reports Conference, evaluating the situation in the voivodship party organization on the basis of the degree of realization of political goals states that in relation to the situation before 13 December 1981, progress in party work methods has taken place, with the result of promoting a consolidation of the voivodship party ranks. The positive trends visible in the voivodship party organization over the period of a year cannot however satisfy us completely. We must be aware that these positive trends do not occur equally in all the organizations. This was confirmed also by the course of the reports meetings in party groups, OOP's and POP's. Taking into consideration the above evaluations and the party's responsible tasks in the process of overcoming the sociopolitical crisis and strengthening the party's leading role in the state, the conference undertakes the following:

--to continue actions on behalf of further consolidation of the party and social stabilization in all the milieux,

--to identify on the current basis the environments in which it is necessary to intensify activities aimed at strengthening the authority and rank of the POP/OOP,

--to strengthen the ties between party organizations, the POP/OOP and society, particularly the working class,

--to improve the system of control and enforcement in the implementation of the resolutions of the Ninth Special Party Congress and plenary sessions of the PZPR Central and Voivodship Committees, as the basis of building the unity of party actions,

--to increase the inspirational and organizational role of party organizations,

--to act toward strengthening the process of creating self-governing structures of socialist democracy, particularly:

--the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth,

--the workers and farmers self-management

--trade unions

--to increase party discipline through further propagation of the contents of the PZPR Ninth Congress, the PZPR Statute, widespread application and consistent implementation of party recommendations and tasks,

--to raise the effectiveness of work of party groups by placing them in the system of the POP activities in such a way that they can act as a true connection between the milieu and the party organization and can be a factor in forming the moods in worker groups and the milieu,

--to make the system of communications between the POP and individual party members more efficient,

--to increase the requirements with regard to party members holding managerial functions in the state and economic administration and their responsibility for the implementation of party policy,

--to activate party work in members' places of residence.

Improvement of the efficiency of party work requires continuous perfecting of the system of political and economic education. In this realm we consider it necessary to intensify actions aiming at full implementation of the educational system, including the training of candidates and new party members, mass instruction in basic party organizations, training in the milieu and in the WUML aktiv, while bearing in mind the needs and possibilities of the milieu. This task requires continuous expansion of the groups of the ideological aktiv, increase of the aktiv's knowledge and abilities, restoration of the proper place of ideological and educational activity in the party's daily work. Particular attention should be paid to currently the weakest links in the party's ideological work, namely the meetings of the basic party cells. Efforts should be made to prepare these meetings correctly, so that theoretical substructure can be utilized to draw practical conclusions and show ways to solve current problems of the party organization, of the work place and the milieu.

II. Party activities in the ideological and propaganda spheres require focusing efforts on:

--strengthening the party's ideological unity,

--strengthening the party's class character,

--consolidating the ideological and ethical attitudes and values in social consciousness,

- building a bond between the nonparty and the party and its program,
- strengthening the worker-peasant alliance
- forming modern citizen awareness and political and legal culture,
- shaping the awareness of the significance of the Polish-Soviet alliance and of collaboration with the socialist camp countries.

In order to achieve the above goals, the following factors are necessary:

- discernment on the current basis of the state of class awareness in society, particularly in the working class of the Coast, and based on this, the elaboration of the forms and methods of propaganda influence in accordance with the Ninth Congress' resolution,
- strengthening of the role and significance of information and propaganda actions in the political struggle by expanding the themes and the range of readers of propaganda publications,
- shaping the proper political profile of the mass media,
- inspiring actions developing the all-round participation of workers' and farmers' milieux in the cultural life, and activization of the youth,
- dissemination of the achievements and cultural gains of People's Poland, with an emphasis on their significance in the formation of society's socialist awareness,
- acting on behalf of the development of the culture's material base,
- creating proper conditions for creative work and improvement of the living conditions of artists and culture activists, and extending particular protection to the voivodship's cultural monuments.

III. Party Activities in the Process of Educating the Young Generation

The initiated process of sociopolitical stabilization of youth is in its initial phase. It should be kept in mind that this process will be lengthy, as it concerns mostly the sphere of value-changing. In this process, political actions undertaken by the party in the scientific and educational milieu are and will be of importance. For this reason the Voivodship Reports Conference obliges party organizations and individual members to the following:

- to strengthen the party's influence in the scientific and educational milieux; to work out such programs of action and such methods which will be compatible with the current social solutions and needs,
- to create conditions and an atmosphere favorable to peaceful and solid pedagogical work, combining didactic duties with ideological and educational tasks of the socialist state,

—to undertake effective actions in creating a climate for the development of a youth movement through activization of socialist youth associations, which are a natural basis of patriotic, ideological, and political self-education of youth,

--to create conditions to assure the development of a scientific and didactic base for schools and the realization of the material status of the teaching personnel securing the proper functioning of the institutions of instruction and education of youth,

—to create socioeconomic conditions favorable to the development of a wide front of cooperation of schools, social organizations, parents, and work enterprises in order to implement a unified program of education,

--to expand the participation of science in the implementation of economic reform, development and coparticipation of science in the current implementation of political and economic decisions.

IV. Actions in the Socioeconomic Sphere

The PZPR Voivodship Reports Conference in this sphere assigns party organizations on all levels the following tasks:

1. In the sphere of agriculture and the food economy:

--implement and undertake concrete actions assuring proper realization of the resolution of the Eleventh Plenum of the Central Committee in the rural and city milieux,

--undertake extensive work with party members in the countryside, paying attention to their influence on the activization of production of farmers, improving the efficiency of services to agriculture and betterment of the social and living conditions of rural residents,

--eliminate negative phenomena occurring in agriculture and the food economy, such as wastefulness and mismanagement,

--develop agricultural education and culture, implement technical and technological progress,

--efficiently use the means of production at the disposal of agriculture,

--create a climate favorable to the rebuilding of the authority and development of all forms of farmer's self-government.

2. In the sphere of commerce and market supplies:

--undertake actions aimed at supplying Gdansk consumers with the largest possible quantity of goods,

--improve the social justice of the distribution of existing goods among the voivodship regions,

--develop the network of new commercial posts and improve the organization of work in commerce,

--continue the intensive battle with market speculation in all its forms,

--protect the socially-justified interests of consumers through active control of prices and services.

3. In the sphere of housing, construction and the municipal economy:

--consistently reinforce the realization of the program of developing housing construction in the Gdansk Voivodship,

--support the movement for cooperation housing construction in all organizational forms,

--assume political supervision of the implementation of municipal investments, strategic to the needs of housing construction,

--bring about the regulation of prices and elaboration of unified principles of calculation of construction works in construction enterprises,

--prepare realistic plans for restoring the existing substance of housing and social objects in the cities; this task is for local authorities on all levels.

4. In the sphere of health protection and social programs;

--improve health protection in outpatient medical service, particularly the protection of mothers and children,

--organize the system of analysis and economic and social control of the costs of health treatment and undertake organizational actions on behalf of utilizing budget funds in health service,

--coordinate, in the form of a uniform program, the social aid rendered by the local authorities and various charitable organizations, above all for people in particularly difficult conditions.

5. In the sphere of active implementation of the economic reform:

--aid and strengthen the developing movement for worker's self management in state and cooperative enterprises, as one of the most important elements of economic reform,

--reform and perfect the wage system in state and cooperative enterprises, in order to achieve a consistent correlation of wage increases with production results,

—have the whole party and economic administration undertake a broad movement for thriftiness and a battle against wastefulness in work enterprises,

—utilize all the available means in work enterprises in order to improve social and living conditions for employees,

—continue the educational, informational, and propaganda activity in order to transform the consciousness of the employees and achieve the association of the enterprise's interests with the general social interest.

6. In the sphere of the marine economy and transportation:

—subordinate activities in the voivodship marine economy to the strategy resulting from the party and state marine policy, resolved at the Tenth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee,

—utilize to the utmost all noninvestment possibilities of raising the capabilities of production, transportation, fishing, reloading, and repairs for the purpose of increasing foreign trade turnovers, improving the balance of payments and the nation's food situation.

The conference believes that in order to achieve further development of the marine economy in our voivodship, it is necessary to take decisions with regard to the directions and sources of financing investments in the marine economy particularly in:

—developing and modernizing the fishing fleet and its land base,

—developing and increasing the reloading capacities of the ports,

—modernizing the production and repair shipyards and their cooperative base,

—protecting the Baltic Sea waters.

The conference believes that in the present economic situation, the problems of railroad transportation, the realization of which directly influences the functioning of the marine economy, urgently need to be solved.

The Voivodship Reports Conference ascertains that the road to a socialist renewal leads through a consistent implementation of the program of the Ninth Congress of our party. It is a road of democratic reforms compatible with the ideas and principles of socialism. Unifying the party around this line is the paramount duty of all party members in our voivodship. The conference recognizes at the same time these directional tasks as the most important in the realization of the resolution of the Ninth Congress in the second half of the term and obliges the Voivodship Committee to work out a detailed program for the implementation of the resolutions and motions of the conference,

Gdansk, 5 February 1983.

Meeting on Party Activity

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 15 February 83 p 1

[Article by: Z.N.]

[Text] The role and the tasks of the basic party organizations in ideological activity in the light of the resolution of the Gdansk Voivodship Reports Conference of the PZPR were the subject of a meeting of the Lenin Shipyard party aktiv yesterday. Stanislaw Bejger, candidate member of the Central Committee and first secretary of the Voivodship Committee of the PZPR, participated in the meeting which was led by the first secretary of the PZPR Enterprise Committee, Jan Labecki.

The meeting ascertained that the rebuilding of ideological and organizational coherence of the party must be done from below. Only the POP firmly based in the milieu, well acquainted with the workers' feelings can be sensitive to all the problems and needs of the people.

Ideological activity cannot be limited to delivering reports and reciting slogans abstracted from the enterprise's reality. Work must be adapted to concrete conditions in a concrete milieu. Socialism must be created on the scale of a work brigade, division, and enterprise for that is where the battle for ideas is taking place. Therefore party organizations must always stand confronting the people and production because it is in the sphere of production where the fate of the socialist system is wrought.

Stanislaw Bejger, the first secretary of the Voivodship Committee also took the floor and broadly informed the participants of the meeting about the course and results of the Voivodship Reports Conference conclusion. He ascertained that it was an event of great significance in the life of the voivodship party organization, an important step toward building the strength and coherence of the party. Stanislaw Bejger also pointed out that the conclusions of the conference create a possibility for a better and more effective implementation of the party program resolved at the Ninth Congress of the PZPR.

12270

CSO: 2600/447

RADOM PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED**Good Industrial Results**

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 20 Jan 83 p 2

[Article: "On the Work of the Executive Board of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Radom"]

[Text] In spite of the difficulties with raw and other materials supplies, uneven work of subcontractors, restriction in power supply as well as labor supply problems and the specific sociopolitical situation, the industrial results of our voivodship should be considered good. In comparison with 1981, the production level has been raised by 2 percent, while at the same time employment has been lowered by 4 percent. There are some enterprises that have registered even a 10 percent higher index of sold output; for instance Hortex Export-Import Enterprise in Przysucha and Lipsko, or Polmetal Radom Metal Products Works. At the same time, however, 75 units have not attained average 1981 results, among those are: Gerlach Tableware Combine in Drzewica, Mechanical Equipment Factory [FUM] in Warka, as well as Zremb Construction Mechanization Works and Fireproof Materials Works in Radom. In many enterprises growth of salaries exceeded the growth of their output. Only 20 units have attained a proper relationship between labor productivity, quantity, and quality of their output and wages. This applies particularly to small industrial units.

Construction crews have turned over to their users 2,369 apartments, that is 101.6 percent of the planned number. Unfortunately, production in the socialized construction and assembly enterprises has dropped by 7.7 percent, while in the units being part of the central plan it fell by 14.2 percent. Among them are: Chemomontaz Assembly Works Enterprise in Pionki, Cooperative Prefabricated Production and Installation Works Enterprise in Bialobrzegi, Cement Industry's Repair and Construction Combine in Wierzbica, as well as Peremo Radom Enterprise for Reconstruction and Modernization of Foundries and Budochem Construction-Assembly Enterprise in Radom.

As far as the municipal investments are concerned, among others an industrial sewage treatment plant has been commissioned in Przysucha, a 2-kilometer segment of sewer interceptor has been completed in Radom, a 1.6-kilometer segment in Grojec; a 1-kilometer segment of the sewage system in Radom and a 600-meter segment of water supply system in Ilza have been completed.

It was planned that in 1982 33 investment projects valuing over 1 billion 326 million zlotys would be completed. Only 14, costing 376 million zlotys, were finished. Such important investments as expansion of the "Polnoc" heating plant in Radom, modernization of the water collector in the Grojeck sewage system in Zwolen were not completed. The task of supplying agriculture with water has not been fulfilled at the expected level (51.5 percent of the planned level).

Last year's grain yields remained on the level of those of 1981, but the potato crop was lower by 25.5 percent and there were 20-30 percent less vegetables. On the other hand, an unusually good harvest of apples has been recorded.

The Executive Board has concluded that the good overall economic results of the voivodship in 1982 that place this region among the nation's leaders are due primarily to the workforces' efforts as well as commitment of management and party cells. They inspired various initiatives aiming at a solution of aggravated technological problems and substituting imported raw materials with the domestic ones. We owe the workers once more words of recognition for their attitude.

At yesterday's meeting, the Executive Board also analyzed the problem of answering letters, complaints and interventions addressed to the PZPR Voivodship Committee and party's local units during the past year. The Voivodship Committee has received 559 letters and complaints, other units 364. They registered various matters of general concern about the functioning of economic units, establishments, and offices. They are also a testimony of the feeling and attitude of the voivodship's inhabitants. As it was stressed, there was further progress in answering such complaints during the past year. The number of clients served at the offices has also risen. This proves that party cells, pursuant to the resolutions of 7th and 9th CC plenums, treat this form of contacts with comrades and citizen with due respect. At the same time, we can notice an increased commitment to this form of contacts on the part of offices and state administration.

The Executive Board has committed local and basic party cells to analyze systematically problems raised in letters and interventions. Particular attention should be given to the sources and causes of different misunderstandings and conflicts.

Milk Cooperative Production

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 27 Jan 83 p 2

[Article: "On the Work of the Executive Board of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Radom. To Buy or not to Buy Milk? The Investments are Necessary but so is... Ordinary Water"]

[Text] During yesterday's debates of the Executive Board of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Radom, the discussion was focused on the situation of milk production in the voivodship. In addition, the task for such production for 1983-85

has been evaluated. It has been concluded that during the last 10-year period milk cooperatives have undertaken decisive measures to intensify milk procurement activities. Consequently, the supply of milk rose annually by some 10 percent, and last year it has reached almost 210 million liters. Unfortunately this has not been followed by appropriate investments. The resulting situation reveals many collecting points located in rented premises that are not easy to keep clean. It is not possible also to process milk obtained from the farmers, particularly during the peak summer deliveries. The surplus at that time reaches more than 300,000 liters daily. It is necessary therefore to process considerable amount of the white liquid into casein, or to transport it in the form of the so-called fodder milk, valued at 10 groszes per liter, to peasants' farms. A particularly acute situation during such periods arises in the dairies at Kozienice and Zwolen. After all, representatives of those cooperatives have disclosed that several million liters of milk are wasted in this way annually. In Radom itself the situation is not much better. The cooperative's plant processes during the peak season three times more milk than it was foreseen in the technical and economical specifications of this plant. Thus, there is a risk that some day, as a result of a minor failure, the population of a city that is a capital of a voivodship will be deprived of milk and cheese.

What should be done: To give up milk procurement, which the milk cooperatives threaten us with, or to expand processing capacity? Everybody agrees that only the second solution is acceptable. The hitch concerns the inability of the cooperatives to spend large amounts of money for investments, in spite of the voluntary 30-40 groszes per liter tax paid by milk suppliers from Zwolen and Kozienice regions to support expansion of dairies. Because a dairy with a capacity of around 250,000 liters per day costs today some 1.5 billion zlotys, while the profit of all the regional milk cooperatives of Radom Voivodship does not reach even one-tenth of this amount.

Facing this situation members of the Executive Board have concluded that a dairy that would be financed by the central plan should be built in Radom Voivodship. And such are guidelines. A dairy with a capacity of some 250,000 liters per day is to be located in Bialobrzegi. The general concern is that work on this dairy should start as soon as possible, as soon as next year perhaps. This urgency is justified by the difficult situation of dairies, as well as by a fear of a possibility of dropping such a dairy from the plan, as befell to a similar investment in Jedlinsk some years ago.

The plant in Bialobrzegi will not solve all the problems, however, since during peak delivery times there still may be problems with processing the received milk. Because of this we propose to build another, smaller plant in Zwolen, that will be financed from the funds of the regional milk cooperatives of Radom Voivodship and from bank credits. A further modernization of the existing dairies is also being proposed. It seems to be necessary also to increase efforts aiming at construction and equipping of milk procurement points, as well as equipping dairy farms with coolers, centrifuges and milking machines. There is also need to have the appropriate agricultural services more interested in supplying heifers, and in other work leading to a genetic improvement of cattle.

The Executive Board has asked the milk cooperatives to prepare a realistic investment program and a time schedule of the remaining activities by the end of the current quarter. As the representatives of the cooperatives themselves have admitted, it is possible, often without investments or additional outlays, just through stricter observance of cleanness to improve the quality of milk and milk products that are being offered to the retail trade.

Tasks Toward Law, Order

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 11 Feb 83 p 2

[Article by wla: "On the Work of the Executive Board of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Radom"]

[Text] In July last year the plenary session of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Radom has approved a resolution that defines our aims in the matters of protecting safety, peace, and public order. Because of the importance of those issues, the voivodship party organization has been made responsible for systematic evaluation of the progress in the implementation of plans which were accepted at that time. Yesterday the Executive Board of the PZPR Voivodship Committee has examined the situation of order and public safety in 1982. Citizen Militia statistical data reveal that, unfortunately, the number of crimes committed has risen by more than 15 percent in comparison with 1981. At the same time, due to an increased efficiency of the law administration, the index of apprehended criminals has improved. According to the nationwide estimate, though, Radom Voivodship is among the regions most threatened with criminality. Consequently, it is necessary to strive for improving [anti-crime] activities, enhancing skills of law enforcement and administration authorities, intensification of efforts aiming toward curbing speculation and inefficient management as well as better fire prevention.

Activities of this kind which are initiated by the militia and prosecutor's office should receive wider support. It should find its expression in an increased concern, among other things, for proper safeguarding of social property. Unfortunately, in the course of the recently conducted inspection appalling negligence has been found.

The Executive Board has concluded that the Voivodship Committee resolution as well as specific tasks given to the state administration, economic administration, law enforcement administration call for intensified action countering social pathology phenomena. The fight against alcoholism becomes particularly significant. Last year over 8,400 individuals were detained at sobering-up rooms. Moonshining is becoming a scourge. Punitive policy should aim at making this business unprofitable. Centers for the treatment of alcoholics as well as local civic-medical commissions for the compulsory treatment of alcoholics should also work more effectively.

The Executive Board, having considered the recently-enacted Sejm laws, has ordered their consistent application in cases of individuals who avoid work. The number of registered parasites in our voivodship is almost 2,500, while at the same time many enterprises complain about having manpower shortages.

Particular attention has been paid during the discussion to the increased criminality of minors. During the last year 517 minors have violated the law. Hence the importance of preventive activities conducted by schools and law enforcement authorities. Meetings with regional public prosecutors and judges contribute to the enhancement of civic and legal awareness of students, teachers, and parents. The problem of narcotics addiction demands a prompt analysis.

The consecutive topic of debates has familiarized the Executive Board of the PZPR Voivodship Committee with the assessment of the participation of the scientific and technical cadres of the Higher Engineering School and research-development centers [OBR] in solving regional enterprises' technical problems. It follows from the materials presented by the NOT Voivodship Council unit as well as from the discussion that it is necessary to cooperate more closely between research units and industry. Wider exchange of information on problems that require analyses and on the possibilities of the Higher Engineering School's institutes or research-development centers should serve this purpose. This should help, among other things, efforts to substitute the imported raw and other materials with their domestic surrogates. The process of bringing closer the scientific thought to the practice will result in newly-developed ideas being faster applied, thus also in more effective utilization of outlays for research work.

Assessment of Party Accomplishments, Intentions

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 12-13 Feb 83 p 2

[Article by wla: "Assessment of Party Accomplishments and Intentions; Before the PZPR Voivodship Reports-Programs Conference in Radom"]

[Text] The consultation campaign concerning the materials that will be the topic of discussion at the PZPR Voivodship Reports-Programs Conference in Radom is nearing end.

Yesterday those documents were subjected to an analysis during the meeting of the PZPR Voivodship Committee first secretary, Bogdan Prus, with the representatives of the party local and basic organizations of Grojec region.

Comrades [participating in the conference] have pointed out many problems which should become part of the program of activities of the PZPR Voivodship organization during the second part of its term. Drawing attention to the importance of the food industry, it has been stressed that the pace of reclamation work should be increased, particularly in the gminas of Nowe Miasto, Warka, and Chynow. Much criticism has been directed at those responsible for the shape of country roads. It has been proposed that special units responsible for their daily maintenance should be created. The work of municipal services should be also reorganized. In order to ensure that they do their work properly it is necessary to concentrate their management in one center, for instance in gmina offices which know their problems best and can make their proper selection. A solution should also be found at last for the problem coal supply in the Grojec region, because farmers cannot bear the additional cost of transport.

The consultation's participants have also indicated the need of further measures aiming at improved integration of the so-called peripheral gennas with the voivodship administrative center.

Similar consultative debates, with the PZPR Voivodship Committee secretaries Danuta Grabowska and Wlodzimierz Kocinski participating, took place yesterday at the Radom Regional Center for Party Work and at the Radoskop Radom Leather Industry Plant.

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RZESZOW PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Status of Security and Public Order

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 8 Nov 82 pp 1,2

/Article by hp/

/Text/ In its session yesterday, the Executive Board of the Provincial Committee of the PZPR in Rzeszow evaluated the status of security and public order in Rzeszow province during the first nine months of this year. Its evaluation of the law-enforcement agencies was favorable. Some of the reasons for this can be found in the following data. During the first nine months of this year, 6.4 percent more inquiries and investigations were instituted, which testifies to the considerable activity of the law enforcement agencies in uncovering crimes and prosecuting their perpetrators. In general, the rate of apprehension of criminals is 83.3 percent, i.e., nearly 3 percent higher than last year. This is an index exceeding the average national rate.

In the current year, no major economic crimes involving the organized theft of public property have been uncovered. The greatest social indignation is aroused by inept management, which appears most often in agriculture and the food industry. In our columns we have cited specific, reprehensible cases where processed meats, fruits and vegetables were allowed to spoil. Speculation is the chief problem in the area of economic crime. This social plague, which has arisen from the national crisis and market difficulties, is being combatted by professional and social enforcement agencies, by officials of the MO /Civic Militia/ and ORMO /Voluntary Reserve of the Civic Militia/, by soldiers of the LWP /Polish People's Army/, and lastly by rank-and-file workers. As a result of antispeculation activities this year, 189 investigations of these crimes have been instituted, 160 recommendations for punishment sent to the courts, and 954 individuals sentenced to pay fines.

During the antispeculation drive, goods worth 2,780 zlotys were seized, and concealed goods having a value of 2,130 zlotys were uncovered. They were put on sale.

In the period under review, the number of crimes increased, including burglaries of private and state property, brawls or beatings, and holdups. It

✓ should be mentioned here that in regard to apprehension of burglars stealing state property, Rzeszow Province occupies fourth place in the country, and in regard to apprehension of burglars stealing private property, it occupies seventh place.

It was emphasized in the discussion that the present extent of criminal activity, despite the halt in its growth and the higher rate of apprehension of perpetrators, is a cause for public alarm. This is particularly true of vehicle thefts and the breaking and entering of apartments, cellars, sheds, automobiles, etc. Therefore, law enforcement agencies were assigned the task of taking additional preventive measures. These measures are directed against such criminogenic phenomena as alcoholism, social parasitism and corruption of minors. It was noted that as a result of law enforcement operations and propaganda, the number of vehicular accidents has decreased.

Grateful mention was made of many militia actions (we have written about them in our newspaper) through which social discipline and public order in the province have greatly improved.

The session was adjourned with acceptance of the proposals.

Implementation of Social, Economic Tasks

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 26-27-28 Nov 82 pp 1,2

/Article by hp/

/Text/ The Executive Board of the Provincial Committee of the PZPR in Rzeszow, meeting on Thursdays this month, has made a positive assessment of the participation of the rural population of Rzeszow province in cultural and educational activities. In making this assessment, the board took into account the available resources as well as the activities current in progress. With respect to resources, it was found that they comprise 200 libraries, 180 reading rooms, 36 cultural institutions and centers, 10 movie theaters, 15 bookstores, 96 "Ruch" /Movement/ clubs, 93 "Rolnik" /Farmer/ clubs, and 27 recreation areas in organizations and workplaces. Thus, in the last two years resources have not been diminished. They are not always adequate for people's needs, however, because some movie theaters are unsuitable and many libraries are housed in private apartments.

Here are some figures on the participation of the rural population in cultural and educational activities. More than 10,000 people are active in 528 art groups, and 94,125 readers are making use of the libraries. In this year alone, there have been 854 film showings in the countryside. For a milieu that does not have a great deal of leisure time, these are significant numbers. However, attention was called to the fact that this assessment pertains to regular participation in regular, organized activities; the rural populace is offered few facilities for everyday recreation.

Thus, despite the national crisis, workers engaged in the cultural field have succeeded in safeguarding culture in the countryside. The available resources

should not only be maintained but also expanded as much as possible, since the social climate is conducive to the development of culture.

In its conclusions, the Executive Board also set tasks connected with the selection of a range of activities designed to encourage democratization of culture and to draw upon the sources and traditions of national culture. In every milieu one must answer the question of how to utilize state resources in programmed cultural activities and how to involve the entire nonprofessional rural cultural and educational movement in them. It would be a good idea to determine in every village what should and can be done to foster the development of culture.

The next item discussed by the Provincial Committee's Executive Board concerned implementation of social and economic tasks during the past ten months. In industry, the value of the sale of goods and services was 12 percent higher in October of this year as compared with the same period last year. However, in the January-October period of this year, their value was 2.9 percent higher (making adjustments for differences in prices, of course). So everything is going well. All the large plants are operating well; only some smaller ones are lagging behind a bit. One might add that the higher production this year as compared with last was achieved with nearly 4 percent less employment and in less time, owing to the two-day weekend and workers' increased use of sick leave.

Fairly good results have also been obtained in agriculture, although they are not fully evident in the state purchasing system, particularly in the purchase of grain. The Rzeszow construction industry is slowly regaining its reputation, especially in housing construction, which should meet its annual quota and turn out more than 2,000 apartments. However, the industry is too far behind in other areas of construction. It is no surprise, therefore, that many managers of construction firms were present during the discussion of this agenda item. Contractors have suffered particularly severe setbacks in municipal economic investment. The Provincial Committee's Executive Board expressed the opinion that the workers in this sector of the national economy should endeavor, despite personnel problems and low wages, to make maximum use of the resources allotted to provide the population with water, heat, nurseries, kindergartens, schools, commercial establishments, etc.

In assessing the entire economy of the province, the Executive Board took note of its strong points and improvements, and advanced proposals for remedying its defects.

The Provincial Committee's Executive Board devoted special attention to the problems of Mielc, whose party section and municipal administration have applied for help in resolving as soon as possible a number of crucial problems for their city, e.g., the construction of waterworks, preparation of sites for housing construction in the settlement of Smoczek, and the building of a regional hospital. Assurances were given that this help would be provided.

Plenum Honoring Polish Workers' Movement

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 6 Dec 82 pp 1,5

/Article by Ryszard Beres/

/Text/ A highlight of the celebration in our region of the 100th anniversary of the formation of the Polish workers' movement was the festive plenary session of the Provincial Committee of the PZPR in Rzeszow that was held last Friday, 3 December. The meeting, which was conducted by the first secretary of the Provincial Committee, Franciszek Karp, was attended by a large group of veterans and activists of the workers' movement from the Rzeszow area—participants in the struggle for democracy, coauthors of the glorious pages in the history of this land, of the revolutionary transformations that have taken place here. One of the presiding officers of the session was Maria Korgowa, chairwoman of the Provincial Committee's workers' activist committee.

Among those participating in the meeting of the provincial party section were: Franciszek Gutowski, president of the Provincial Committee of the ZSL; Jan Switka, chairman of the Provincial Committee of the SD; Franciszek Kruczynski, chairman of the WRN; Zenon Czerniakowski, chairman of the Temporary Provincial Council of PRON; and Henryk Ficek, the Rzeszow provincial governor. Representatives of youth organizations were also present.

A solemn moment in the plenum was the act of giving the 110 assembled veterans the commemorative medal struck on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the Polish workers' movement. During the intermission, their delegation placed flowers before the plaque on the facade of the PZPR Provincial Building, on which plaque are immortalized the names of the organizers and leading activists of the Rzeszow region's revolutionary and workers' movement who perished in the struggle for freedom and socialism.

During the several hours' debate accompanying the Friday session, in remembrance of the glorious pages in the history of the revolutionary struggle, a number of conclusions and tasks were formulated on the basis of past experiences and achievements. These conclusions and tasks, which are to be guidelines for the future ideological and propagandist work of PZPR sections and organizations, were set forth in the introductory report given by Jan Kwolek, secretary of the Provincial Committee; in the speeches of participants in the meeting, honored activists of the KPP /Communist Party of Poland/, the KZMP /Communist Union of Polish Youth/, and the PPR /Polish Workers' Party/ (Ludwik Szenhorn, Wladyslaw Kuchta, Leon Korga, Wladyslaw Kruczek, Pawel Karp, Tomasz Rog); and by representatives of other organizations—Janina Wator of the Center for Advanced Teacher Training, Dr. Zdzislawa Trawinska, a teacher at the WSP /Pedagogical College/, associate professor Wlodzimierz Bonusiak, assistant dean of the Arts and Humanities Department at the WSP, and Jan Lyskowski, a journalist from the monthly magazine, PROFILE.

A return to the sources of the workers' movement, and dissemination and awareness of its tremendous theoretical and political accomplishments are--as the participants repeatedly emphasized--an absolute necessity today. For the shortcomings of the educative function of traditions, and a departure from the ideals and experiences of the Party--particularly in the last few years--have sapped its ideological vigor and its ability to direct socialist construction. It is vitally important, therefore, to extract from the history of the Polish revolutionary movement those thoughts and values that have constituted its persuasive force and that have lost none of their relevance, because they may be useful for current and future political practice. The party's fundamental tenet--the struggle for social justice, for the dignity of the worker, for decent living conditions, for democracy and the participation of citizens in government--retains its programmatic value to this day.

It is sheer fantasy to attempt to build socialism through the efforts of communists alone, or even of the working class alone. In the past, communists frequently initiated and strove for understandings with other social forces, and sought and gained allies in their struggle. In the 1930s, the Rzeszow region was one such place of effective activities. The participants in the session recalled the circumstances attending the formation of the Popular Front, the collaboration of KPP and SL /People's Party/ cells, and the cooperation of communist and leftwing youth organizations, which was marked, among other things, by the signing of the Kracskowa Declaration of Rights of Poland's Younger Generation. Now, too, when the political enemy has not laid down his arms, all circles in favor of socialism must patiently be united. The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth should become the rallying point for understanding and collaboration in overcoming Poland's crisis, for protection of state interests and for encouragement of social activity on the part of citizens.

Several participants in the discussion pointed out the signal accomplishments of the class-oriented trade unions in the period between the two world wars. They emphasized that we must draw conclusions from these experiences, too, for the newly reviving trade union movement.

Many speeches stressed the need for party members to take aggressive, militant positions and to prepare for the struggle against the political adversary. In a time of staged discussions and misunderstood ideological and political unity--it was said--we have forgotten how to carry on such a struggle; since August /1980/ we have become almost helpless against the catchwords of stupidity, nonsense, hatred and chauvinism. It is the positions of the self-sacrificing, zealous activists of the KPP and KZMP that exemplify those characteristics which are desirable for both strategic and tactical operations. Today more than ever, young comrades should learn from their predecessors skill in argumentation, courage in presenting views, and perseverance in winning over the mass of toilers to the party's program.

The century-old history of the workers' movement, including the workers' movement in the Rzeszow region, is (as the participants in the festive meeting of the Provincial Committee affirmed) an extremely valuable historical argument in the current struggle against the enemies of socialism. This

history offers convincing proof that Polish revolutionary thought was not borrowed from others or imposed; rather, it developed from the will of the people and the working class and thus it is not a foreign body incompatible with all Polish tradition.

In this connection, the veterans harked back to their own experiences and adventures. Their speeches breathed new life into events from the time of the formation of the first socialist circles in Galicia, and evoked memories of the Tarnobrzeg Republic and the early activities of the KPP, KZMP, PPS-Lewica /Polish Socialist Party-Leftwing/, and the United Peasants' Leftwing "Samopomoc" /Self-help/ in the Rzeszow region. The fighters for national and social liberation recalled the dramatic demonstrations of the masses in the 1930s and the heroic struggle against the invader, in which PPR activists from the Rzeszow area made a significant contribution. They spoke also of their participation in laying the foundation of the people's state and in implementing basic structural reforms after the Second World War.

- v In assessing the propaganda activities undertaken in the Rzeszow Province school system to mark the 100th anniversary of the workers' movement, it was found that they represented an important step in the historical education of society. These activities included informational talks, meetings of veterans with young people, civics courses, readers' and journalists' contests, general study courses, and the work of publishing houses and periodicals.

These undertakings will be continued. The resolution passed on this matter lays particular stress on the educational benefits of direct contacts and meetings between activists and schoolchildren. Familiarization of young people—primarily college students and young workers—with these issues should be the task of university study groups, the historical committee of the youth movement, and the discussions and seminars held in these circles.

The resolution also points out the need for research on the "blanks" in the history of the revolutionary movement in the Rzeszow region. Among the topics requiring a more thorough and comprehensive treatment are the period before the rise of the KPP, the activity of the PPS, the history of the trade union movement in this area, and the armed struggle during the Second World War. These topics must be investigated more extensively than before by scholars and students from the Rzeszow academic center.

Delay in Implementation of Resolution

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 13 Dec 82 pp 1,3

/Article by reb/

/Text/ At its regular session held last Friday, 10 December, the Executive Board of the Provincial Committee of the PZPR in Rzeszow assessed the implementation of the tasks arising from the resolution of the Ninth Plenum of the Central Committee.

Immediately after the Central Committee's plenum, the work of the provincial and local sections of the PZPR concentrated on publicizing the content of the plenary resolution and the tasks set forth therein, and on specifying the means of implementing them. These questions were discussed at the joint meetings of the POP /Basic Party Organization/ and ZSMP /Union of Socialist Party Youth/ groups in certain institutions, and at the sessions of 16 urban and rural committees and of 6 factory and academic committees.

One result of the decisions made at these sessions is the various measures that are being taken to raise the younger generation's social and political consciousness. To this end, Party activists and LWP /People's Army of Poland/ officers are meeting more often with schoolchildren. The introductory social science course has been modified, the topics presented in social education classes are chosen more carefully, and history instruction has been introduced into vocational schools.

In the present situation, one expression of the social activity of young people is their participation in PRON (e.g., in Lezajsk, Lancut and Mielc), in the cells of newly formed trade unions (e.g. in LFS /Lancut Blot and Nut Factory/, the Unitra Electronic Industry Works, the Polam Lighting Equipment Plant, and at the Rzeszow Meat Processing Plant). This participation, however, is still not of a mass nature; it is particularly minimal in the larger urban centers and key industrial plants. Therefore, comrades who are members of individual youth associations have a special role in encouraging this sort of activity and getting larger numbers of young people involved in it.

The bureaucratic and callous attitude of some economic and state administrators is frequently an impediment to solving the problems of the young. Examples of this were cited by representatives of youth associations who attended the Executive Board's session. For instance, the managements of the PTHW, of the shoe factory in Kolbuszowa and of certain construction firms showed little concern for the problems of young employees. At the "Inzynieria" Engineering Project Enterprise, the WSS and PZZ in Rzeszow, the machine tool plant in Lezajsk, and the Rzeszow College of Engineering, there were cases where the opinions of youth organizations were not taken into account and where their influence on the social and economic decisions made at the plant was restricted.

A graphic example of a bureaucratic, legalistic approach to the needs of the young is the difficulties encountered by organizers of youth housing cooperatives in obtaining construction sites and in taking over building-supply companies that have shut down (despite these administrative obstacles, however, the organizers have already managed to form 4 youth housing cooperatives; 3 other groups are preparing to establish such cooperatives. Moreover, on the initiative of the ZSMP, sponsored construction has been resumed; 3 housing units with 102 apartments will go up in Rzeszow).

These difficulties and shortcomings are due partly to the fact that as of yet no provincial program for improving youth opportunities in housing, education, employment, etc. has been drawn up in Rzeszow province. At the same time, it is disturbing that the Provincial Committee for Youth Affairs has not commenced

its activity, although there is a government resolution on this matter. The recommendations accepted by the Provincial Committee's Executive Board indicate the duties of the local state administration in this department.

This document speaks, moreover, of the need to draw up a program for construction of youth housing up to the year 1985 as a part of the provincial construction program. The recommendations also formulated tasks that should be undertaken in the immediate future by individual local sections and organizations of the PZPR. The execution of these tasks, in the context of a total assessment of the implementation in this province of the resolution of the Central Committee's Ninth Plenum, will be the subject of discussion at the Provincial Committee's plenum in the first half of 1983.

During the meeting, the Executive Board familiarized itself with the progress of the PZPR's reporting campaign. In the next few days, 8 rural and city conferences will take place. The local campaign will conclude with the City Conference in Rzeszow planned for 7 January 1983.

The Provincial Conference is scheduled for the beginning of February. It will be preceded by regional meetings of delegates. Members of the Provincial Committee's special committees will participate in the preparation of materials for the Conference.

Plenum on Social, Economic Planning

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 23 Dec 82 pp 1,3

/Article by e/

/Text/ The plenum of the Provincial Committee of the PZPR, meeting yesterday in Rzeszow, took up the problems of the socioeconomic development of the province next year and in the 1983-1985 period in connection with the resolution of the Tenth Plenum of the Central Committee of the PZPR. The meeting, which was chaired by Franciszek Karp, first secretary of the Provincial Committee, was attended by Stanislaw Gebala, chief of the Central Committee's Economic Department.

The discussion covered a wide range of problems contained in such materials as the "Basic Principles of the Draft of the Socioeconomic Plan in 1983 and in the 1983-1985 Period," the data prepared by the provincial governor and the Provincial Committee's Economic Department regarding the introduction of economic reforms, and the speeches of the secretary of the Provincial Committee, Bernadetta Kilian, and the provincial governor, Henryk Ficek.

This year's industrial output is the basis of the draft of the socioeconomic plan. It will exceed last year's output by 2 percent, and in small-scale manufacturing, by 3 percent. It was achieved with a lower employment rate. At the same time, however, it must be said that this output is 5 percent below that achieved in 1979. The decline in production has been halted, therefore, but the provincial economy is still depressed. The situation is complicated by the agricultural production this year. The yields of four cereal crops,

hay and potatoes were lower, and the state purchase of grain is proceeding poorly. The purchase of livestock and milk is going well.

This year's output shows convincingly how much can be done with good intentions, without relying on the "hosses" and without searching for objective difficulties of one sort or another. This cannot yet be said about the work force in all plants. One can also notice the effects of the recently introduced economic reforms and the new motivational system in which output determines the amount of salary and earnings. Most encouraging, too, are the resumption of the activity of workers' self-management bodies and the trade union movement in general, the higher standing of foremen and supervisors, and the strengthening of the bond between science and industry.

Drafts of the socioeconomic plan for the 1983-1985 period were submitted for the consideration of party members. The drafts showed that there is a tremendous gap between present needs and the possibilities of meeting them. In this situation, all energies and resources must be concentrated on resolving the major problems. Accordingly, attention was focussed on the entire agricultural sector and the feeding of society, and then on ways to improve the commodity supply system and increase services. Of crucial significance in this area will be the full utilization of "old" and newly reactivated industrial plants, the setting aside of some Saturdays for this purpose, and the expansion of the range of production for the market and for agriculture.

A third, equally important link will be housing construction, for which there are two developmental plans. The proposal to establish an average yearly increase on the order of 3,500 housing units, though it seems feasible, does not guarantee quick satisfaction of the needs in this area, which at the present time mainly have to do with the lack of heat, water, sewage treatment plants and sites for new construction. In an attempt to resolve these problems, a proposal has been made to earmark 50 percent of the province's available resources for municipal services. Much depends also on the regulation and mastery of investment processes and on the shortening of the constantly lengthening production cycles. This year, as in other years, it was necessary to earmark a considerable sum—several hundred million zlotys—for work of minor importance. A recent inspection of the armed forces revealed much inefficiency.

The conclusions based on the implementation of last year's tasks, the remarks entered into the drafts submitted at yesterday's plenum and during the discussion, and lastly, the store of experiences in overcoming the formidable problems of introducing economic reforms—all this will play a vital role in the social and economic activization of the working masses. Improvement of living conditions will depend above all on increased production, discipline, and order to every workplace, and on strict accountability for the performance of assigned tasks and duties.

At present the main objectives are: the fullest possible synchronization of the provincewide social and economic plans that are being worked out at various plants and enterprises; the coordination of many undertakings; and the

increased participation of individual plants in developing the urban infrastructure. These are topics on which party organizations will express their views as frankly and decisively as they did during the recent discussions. Nor will the resolution adopted at yesterday's plenum of the Provincial Committee fail to have an effect upon the final version of the province's socioeconomic plan for next year and the years 1983-1985, which will shortly be deliberated at a meeting of the WRN /People's Provincial Council/. But one can already say that it will be difficult to cover even the most urgent needs in this plan. Nonetheless, it does lay down guidelines for extricating the country from its crisis while protecting the interests of those circles most threatened by the crisis. Before that time, however, it is essential to find comprehensive solutions to such problems as providing many localities with water, heat and environmental protection.

The following people took part in the discussion: Marian Modelski, assistant manager of the WSK /Transport Equipment Works/ in Mielc; Jozef Rokoszak, executive manager of the WSK in Rzeszow; Stanislaw Czech, first secretary of the PZPR Town Committee in Rzeszow; Antoni Bewszko, a scientific worker at the UMCS /expansion unknown/; Adam Betleja, first secretary of the Main Headquarters of the PZPR in Swilcza; Wladyslaw Mytych, president of the Main Headquarters of the SCh /Peasants' Self-Help/ in Kolbuszowa; Jan Grzywa, an economist from WDRM1OW 'Provincial Directorate for Urban and Rural Community Development/; Stanislaw Lenart, a teacher from Strzyzow; Zdzislaw Siewierski, chairman of the Provincial Office of the ZSMP; Danuta Gawel, secretary of the POP in "Modextra"; Franciszek Kusmierz, manager of the Construction Works in Rzeszow; Piotr Baran, assistant manager of the Rzeszow Leather Industry Works; Jozef Wlodarski, first secretary of the KMG expansion unknown of the PZPR in Sedziszow; Mieczyslaw Lagowski, chairman of the Contractors' Housing Cooperative. The problems taken up during the meeting were also the subject of the speech by Stanislaw Gebala, director of the Central Committee's Economic Department.

In the final part of the plenum, comrade Franciszek Karp expressed his gratitude and appreciation to all those work forces that, despite difficult conditions, managed to hal the decline in production and achieve a higher output than last year, as well as to contractors, transport workers and farmers.

The plenum also heard the report of the provincial public prosecutor, Wladyslaw Biernat, on the progress of investigations instituted against persons suspected of abusing their authority for personal gain. Several cases have already been sent to the Court.

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POLAND

POZNAN PROVINCE REPORTS-PROGRAMS CONFERENCE REPORTED

Reports-Programs Conference Deliberations

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 14 Feb 83 pp 1,3

[Article by Tadeusz Bartkowiak, Mirosław Idziorek, and Janusz Truszczyński]

[Text] Evaluation of party activity at midterm, which is characterized by complex sociopolitical conditions and economic difficulties, and the drafting of a program for the immediate future were the subject of the Poznan Province Reports-Program Conference of the PZPR, which was in session last Saturday in Poznan. The 428 delegates participating in it represented nearly 100,000 party members in Poznan Province: the delegates maintained their mandates from the time of the Poznan Province Reports-Election Conference in June 1981.

Participating in the Poznan sessions, which were presided over by Edward Lukasik, first secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee, were the following: Jozef Czyrek, member of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee, and secretary of the Central Committee; Stanislaw Kalkus, member of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee, a worker of the H. Cegielski Works, Poznan; lt gen, pilot Tadeusz Krepski, member of the Military Council for National Salvation, member of the Central Review Commission; Krzysztof Kostyrko, director of the culture department of the Central Committee; Edward Lukosz, minister of metallurgy and machine engineering industry; Jerzy Wojtecki, minister of agriculture and food industry; Minister Adam Lopatka, director of the Office for Religious Affairs; Andrzej Karpinski, deputy chairman of the planning commission of the Council of Ministers; Boguslaw Kolodziejczak, director of the chancery of the secretariat of the PZPR Central Committee; Stanislaw Zaczekowski, vice minister of internal affairs; Czeslaw Kotela, vice minister of administration, local economy, and environmental protection; Cezary Droszcz, chairman of the Chief Council of the Polish Student Union; Tadeusz Czwojdrak, chairman of the Poznan Provincial National Council. Those present were Sejm deputies--PZPR members; representatives of fraternal political parties, and of social and youth organizations.

After the constitution of a Mandata Commission and a Motion Committee by the conference, Edward Lukasik, first secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee, rose to speak, and on behalf of the Executive of the Provincial Committee, gave a report that led to a discussion.

An evaluation of the work of the state administration in the solution of problems of living conditions of the province's population was presented by Poznan Province Governor Marian Krol, who stated, among other things, that all of the actions undertaken merely assuaged the effects of the crisis phenomena, without being able to stave off their causes. Said the governor: "We had to give up something in order to save something." Although Poznan Province did not feel the pressure of crisis in such a drastic way as other areas of the country, even here unfavorable economic results also occurred.

The governor gave a favorable evaluation to the work of the territorial administration, emphasizing that it has changed considerably for the better in the style of its work. It could not be done, however, without the necessity for the departure from it of people who could not stand the social pressure or did not manage to adapt themselves to the new realities and the new demands. During the period since 1 October 1981, the following left the administration in the province: 1 vice governor, 15 directors and 15 vice-directors of departments of the provincial administration, 22 chiefs, 5 deputy chiefs, and many lower-ranking officials.

Among the events that have a favorable effect on the changes happening in the work of the administration, the governor listed, first, the increasing importance of the national councils, and also the entire system of consultation with working personnel and professional communities. The opinions of the Social Consultation Council and the so-called Convention of Village Administrators are also of great help in adopting decisions.

Referring to the economic problems, the governor stated that the initial evaluation of the fulfillment of the tasks in 1982 makes it possible to hope that the economy in the province, through gradual stabilization, has available the conditions needed for coming out of the crisis. This is borne out by the situation in industry, in which we note an improvement in production and labor productivity, and also by the results achieved in agriculture and small manufactures. The main task in the current year is the strengthening of these favorable trends and further work on attaining economic equilibrium. Connected with this, however, is the necessity for further economization in the administration and in the national economy. "We propose," said the governor, "that 1983 be considered as the year of social initiatives on behalf of improving social conditions."

On the basis of the report of the Executive, and also of the detailed reports of the Provincial Committee, the Provincial Review Commission, and the Provincial Party Control Commission, which had been provided to the delegates earlier, the following discussion developed.

Andrzej Komosinski, first secretary of the Plant Committee of the PZPR at the H. Cegielski Works, Poznan [HCP], referred to the course of the reporting action in the party, and to the problems which had been broached during the time of the meeting of representatives of the party activists of all HCP factories. He devoted the most attention to the ideological-educational activity in the party, and the functioning of basic party organizations and party groups.

"It is necessary," he stated, "to undertake, on a wider scale than up to now, training activities and the organization of instructional meetings for the leading activists of the party." Currently, at the HCP, the most attention is being devoted to the trade union movement, which is being reconstituted, and to the work of the Worker Self-Government Founding Committee. In the speaker's opinion, it is essential to turn attention to a greater correlation between the increase in wages and labor productivity, and on increasing employment. The factory schools could play a considerable part in this through the training of skilled specialists.

Zygmunt Baranowski, a worker of the Szwarzedz Furniture Factories called attention to the totality of the activity of local party organizations, which are concerned with the most urgent matters of the working people. Among these, he mentioned the question of market supply, of the proper operation of tradesmen's workshops, and of farming the land in conformity with social needs. "In spite of a situation that is still difficult," asserted the speaker, "a gradual stabilization of life and the activation of all PZPR cells is already being observed. It is also possible to note, more and more frequently, the entering into the party of people who see a realistic chance of overcoming the economic crisis in the initiatives that the party has adopted.

Lech Kucharski, secretary of the district committee of the PZPR of Poznan-Nowe Miasto, stated that the party ought to answer for itself the question concerning the current situation, in the area of realizing the most important resolutions and assumptions. The activation of people and the adoption of initiatives having as their goal the strengthening of party ranks are necessary. Responsible tasks face, above all, the basic party organizations, which should fulfill the role of initiators of adopted activities in their own environments. It is the basic party organizations that have to adapt themselves to tightening party ranks. "There is no place for passivity in the party," said the speaker. One of the most important of its tasks is winning over youth, which should not only be an object of educational initiatives, but also, and perhaps most of all, an object of day-to-day activity.

Zenon Kortylewicz [of the] Leather Labor Cooperative Poznan-Jezyce, spoke in his address about the necessity for the consistent realization of economic reform. Up to now, it has been possible only to keep from going backwards. Of course this is a victory, asserted the speaker, but still it is not bearing fruit. We worked less and less and earned more and more. Looming inflation results from this. We all feel its results in the form of a lack of goods. We are faced, then with the question:

Either an increase in prices, or a radical production increase. This harsh truth has to be proclaimed with full candor.

Cooperation between individual enterprises ought to be supplemented by cooperation by individual sectors. A critical evaluation ought to be given to the law dated 23 February 1982 concerning the exemption from turnover taxes of enterprises undertaking provisioning production. This is nothing but a counterstimulus to market production. Among other things, it demands the checking of the quality of production of Polish-emigre runs firms for meeting Polish domestic standards.

Getting out of the crisis, stated Tadeusz Zajac, president of the Provincial Committee of the Polish Peasant Party, who joined into the discussion, requires arduous, painstaking work from all members of the party [PZPR] and members of our party, who are cooperating in accordance with a long tradition. This was confirmed by the recent joint plenum, which showed once more the smooth functioning of our association.

Feeding the nation is a concern not only of agriculture, but of all of us. We also are faced with the urgent need to strengthen agricultural self-government. Cooperation as partners in this area is turning out successfully in our province. The selection of an agricultural variant of the economic plan found a favorable response in the Poznan countryside. What is important now is its fundamental realization.

"To what degree did the party's influence become strengthened?" such a question was posed by the president of the "Rural Commune" of Grodzisko. Bronislaw Krolik. The report period answered the question favorably. Again it was noted that a clash of opinions is necessary during a discussion, but after decisions have been adopted, there is an obligation to carry them out.

In the opinion of workers, much evil is concealed in the legal application of exploitation, the acquisition of wealth not so much by the production of material goods, but by taking advantage of market conditions. This reaction of the people is understandable and natural.

In another part of his address, Bronislaw Brolik gave a critical evaluation of the division of the country into administrative districts carried out in past years.

Speaking on behalf of the many-thousand strong construction-worker ranks, Mieczyslaw Cieslinaki, of the Party Committee of the Budownictwa-Stare Miasto [Construction Enterprise--Stare Miasto] presented the difficult situation of that sector of the national economy in Poznan. He stated that in 1982, 125,000 applicants were waiting for their own "M" [living quarters] of whom, 80,000 individuals had full housing payment ready. Then, taking into account the fact that the annual construction plans are set at 5,000 quarters, it can be stated that the waiting time for an apartment of your own at the present building rate is already approaching 16 years. For the

purpose of improving the situation at this time, it is necessary to have greater cooperation between many industries and sectors of the national economy. It would even be appropriate to raise the slogan: "Industry on behalf of construction." It is necessary to make use of all technical capabilities and scientific achievements, and also to develop single-family housing.

Marien Lukaszewski, director of the ZNTK [Railroad Rolling Stock Repair Shops], spoke on behalf of workers of Wilda and of the personnel employed in the transport enterprises. He explained the difficult situation of the transport workers, who are battling against a lack of spare parts and a shortage of able hands to do the work. It would be possible to employ an additional 1,500 persons in ZNTK alone. The speaker paid considerable attention to the functioning of the economic reform which, acting during a time of crisis, entails many difficulties, but is the only chance for correction of the current situation in the immediate future. This can also be attested to by the fact that already, the transport workers of Wilda are noting an increase in the production curve of from 101 to 118 percent in many cases. Comrade Lukaszewski also came out with an appeal for help in the supply of replacement parts and for caution in the area of fixing the ratios of wage increase and labor productivity.

Julian Kempa, who has been director of the District Party Work Centers since Wednesday, spoke about the work of his agency. In his opinion, it is fulfilling responsible tasks in enforcing on the lowest levels a realization of the resolutions of the higher party echelons. These centers activate the activity of basic party organizations, reinforce their authority, and publicize the activities of the PZPR. A consideration and critical view of the situation in the country characterize all party members. Ability to act constructively, broad cooperation with representatives of all centers, and the facing up to all plans and achievements should dominate.

"In our joint activity, we have many common matters to take care of," said Alojzy Bryl, chairman of the Provincial Committee of the Democratic Party in Poznan. These are: coming out of the economic crisis, the moral rebirth of society, and the necessity for overcoming the threats that we had to deal with in the past. The fact that cooperation between the PZPR and the Democratic Party has entered a new qualitative stage is attested to by our developing cooperation in the Commission for the Cooperation of the PZPR and Political Parties. We observe joint initiatives also in the national councils of various levels. Relaying greetings from the members of the provincial organization of the Democratic Party, A. Bryl wished the participants of the conference an enhancement of their program of action and success in carrying out the leading role of the PZPR in society and the state.

Referring to the resolution of the 14th Party Congress, Kazimierz Balczyński, a worker of the Public Roads District of Gniezno, dwelled in his address on the problem of assuring each family the housing it needs. The congress resolution obligates everyone who is responsible for this to assure the conditions for an increase in the housing construction. "In the report of

the Provincial Committee, and the Report of the Planning Commission of the Provincial Administration," asserted the speaker, "no mention is made about this. However, the matter of a lack of prepared building sites was handled in an alarming way. It is also necessary to remember about the care and repair of old houses."

The party organizations operating in the construction departments and municipal services have to take measures in this respect.

"The socialist youth movement," said Zefiryn Grabski, chairman of the Provincial Committee of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth, "was subjected to an historic test in the time that has passed." The consciousness of youth is born in the ideological struggle, in conditions of propaganda subversion by the enemies of socialism. In this situation, the realization of a consistent education continuum is needed. The urgent necessity for putting such a continuum into effect was very much stressed by the Ninth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee. For us, educational work is also an opportunity to solve with our own forces the social and living problems of the new generation. One of these areas is housing construction. The speaker cited the initiatives of the Poznan youth in this area: three cooperatives have been formed, and nine unions for the construction of single-family houses are in the process of organization. The roadblock in the development of this initiative is the difficulty in the provision of building sites. Youth organizations join more and more actively in activity for the benefit of the Patriotic Movement of National Rebirth.

Zygmunt Zimny, president of the District Dairy Cooperative in Wrzesnia, devoted his address to the problems of agriculture and food industry, concentrating mainly on the description of the current situation in the dairy industry. In this context, he brought forth a number of suggestions, among which, he noted the necessity for allocating greater transport facilities, the maintenance of price preferences for milk procurement commensurate with its value, material-technical supply, the necessary means for maintaining the health of herds, and increased allocations of work clothing. In water resources management, not only an improvement but an increase of resources is needed.

"The crisis, which we have experienced for several years," said Marian Nowak, director of the Cooperative of Commercial Schools, in his speech, "has not remained without an influence on youth." This is a very complex problem, depending upon a number of factors. Thus, during the process of education, it is necessary to take into account the natural desire of this age group of society to demonstrate its own independence. They also reach a point in which they doubt the capabilities of their own nation. Thus, the guiding motive in educational activity ought to become the priority of patriotic attitudes, respect for the nation and for the historical road over which our nation has traveled, and for this, a considerable knowledge of the facts and events of our history is particularly needed.

In this particular process, we have to have concern about the creation of unity in the activity on the part of the schools and of the family home.

Andrzej Dominiczak, a farmer from the Komorniki community, expressed the realization that the problem of medical care and pension and retirement for farmers that had been announced for 20 or more years has finally gotten a favorable solution. The same can be said about the lack of security for the future, on the part of farmers, that had been felt for many years. However, agriculture is still faced with numerous unsolved problems, which have an influence, among other things, on the outflow of youth from the countryside. The speaker called attention to the lack of production funds and the unfortunately traditional lack of replacement parts. In this way the farmer is becoming a tourist, but not because of pleasure, but because of necessity, wandering continuously over the country.

The problem of water supply to the village is the order of the day now. Its lack is felt especially acutely when a person decides on the development of livestock raising specialization.

"None of our personnel doubts the fact that an economic reform has to be introduced," stated Andrzej Dziasek, senior foreman in the Iron Foundry of the HCP in Srem. However, the method of its realization breeds doubt. The reform was supposed to counteract the salary funnel; at that time, the amounts paid in certain branches reached a level that was socially unjustified. At the same time, in the large plants of key industries, which had even started on reform from a worse position than, let us say, the cooperative plants, the lower wages caused the departure of people to those plants that pay better. For example, in the Srem Foundry, there a shortage of personnel is felt, and no candidates for study in the plant's trade school.

Jadwiga Kosmider, chairwoman of the League of Polish Women [LKP], described the achievements and program of activity of this organization. She called attention to the fact that the duty of running a household and the education of children falls on the shoulders of women. In spite of that, they work actively and function socially, and take up the initiatives that have as their goal aid to women--mothers and wives. For this purpose, among other things, educational-family clinics have been instituted, used for help by both mothers and fathers. LKP workers have accumulated considerable funds for housing booklets designated for orphans; women are active in the Citizens Committees for National Rebirth, involve themselves in trade union work, worker self-government, and tenant self-governments. They are always where involvement and devoted social work is required.

Wlodzimierz Fiszer, rector of the Academy of Agriculture, spoke about the policy in the field of the food industry, and of the help given to agriculture by the state in the area of feed supply. He said, that this problem must be solved by the individual producers, who have to make use of their homegrown feed, supplementing it only with components purchased by the state for foreign currency. In the opinion of the speaker, the fight against plant diseases and the improvement of feed and farm crop storage are serious problems. In this field, it is necessary to make use of what has been worked out by scientists, who can offer agriculture solutions based

on their achievements and technology. Among other things, there exists the necessity to improve a large quantity of farm land, and to supply society the necessary quantity of proteins. This can be achieved by means of increasing the production of milk, of specific varieties of plants, and by the development of the production of fresh-water fish; mainly the kinds that do not require fattening up with protein feeds. Wlodzimierz Fiszer laid great stress on the necessity for environmental protection and for educating the representatives of the younger generation in this spirit. Among other things, the policy directing the students of the Academy of Agriculture to practical work for private farms will serve this purpose. "The youth will not find the latest farm equipment there," stated the speaker. However, they will certainly meet with people who have respect for work and are fulfilling their obligations well.

Zbigniew Pacholczak, first secretary of the Gmina Committee in Czerwonak, chairman of the commission for Grievances and Suggestions of the Provincial Committee, reported that in 1982, the commission received 3,412 letters from citizens, and had discussions with 5,577 clients. The basic party organizations had 1,225 grievances and suggestions sent to them, whereas 3,266 individuals were seeking help in solving their own most urgent matters.

This attests, on the one hand, to an increase in confidence in the party, but on the other hand, to the work of the state administration, which is still not the best. There is an urgent need immediately to respond to irregularities, to manifestations of high-handedness, and to inadequate settlement of the living concerns of working people. The speaker called for all party members to become involved in actions to help people in need.

"There is an opportunity here," said Janusz Zwodziak, first secretary of the City Section Committee of Poznan-Jezycs," to talk about matters that impede the influence of the party on society." We still have too many nice, generalized statements about social justice. And at the same time, fortunes and unjustified incomes are being created in certain surroundings. We cannot permit ourselves to reach a point where we have good laws and rotten implementation of them. We are all aware of the fact that we are entering a new stage of struggle to change the party's image. Those people whose PZPR membership was linked to the building of careers have left, as have those who could not withstand the attacks of the enemy and were lost. The party is recovering its credibility and authority. In describing the achievement of the city section party committee, and its role in the solution of the most vital problems of society, the speaker make the proposal that the representational and executive authorities be returned to the sections of Poznan, and proposed that the city section people's councils be reactivated and city council offices be set up.

In the opinion of Andrzej Kubacki, chairman of the commission for internal party affairs of the provincial Committee, and first secretary of the School Committee of the PZPR at the Academy of Medical Sciences, not all party echelons have carried out their statutory obligations for the creation of problem-handling commissions yet. The speaker devoted

considerable attention to the functioning of party groups, which, in their own surroundings, ought to publicize the resolutions and policy of the PZPR. There should also be created a specialized center in the PZPR Provincial Committee for the purpose of complete familiarization with the opinions and judgments of society. At the same time, this would be the realization of the previous party conference.

Mieczyslaw Kurzawa, a delegate from Obornik, shared his thoughts on the subject of district party work centers [ROPP]. It appears, said the speaker, that the very conception of setting up these centers was probably not thought out thoroughly. They should not be merely a contacting link between the basic electoral groups and the provincial echelons, because this would unnecessarily prolong the solution of many matters. In this connection, the speaker presented a proposal of a center for ideological-educational work in the activity of the ROPP. These can become a direct aid in the activity of basic party links that do not have lecturing, library, and publishing personnel. In turn, Mieczyslaw Kurzawa described the burning problem of the reconstruction of the housing base in small cities and towns. Many properties really need to be demolished. The worsening housing conditions and the lack of basic plumbing made the life and welfare of residents of small localities difficult to a significant degree.

Henryk Knodziela, director of the National Museum in Poznan, presented the participants at the conference with the sociopolitical situation in the Poznan cultural community. It is characterized by, among other things, the systematic breaking of the refusal front, an increase in activity, the birth of regular initiatives, such as, at least, the last International Festival of Peasant Choruses. This manifestation attests to the fact that there is a constantly fuller discovering of cultural personnel, for whose creativity all of the working people are waiting.

The speaker evaluated favorably the convoking by the city mayor of a Culture Council, as a factor promoting the very process of stabilization. In his opinion, its efforts today must be concentrated in the cultural field, not so much on the formulation of new programs of activity, as on the realization of those that have already been undertaken.

The problems of health and social security were described by Boguslaw Osicki—a physician, chairman of the Health Commission of the Provincial committee of the PZPR in Poznan in his speech. He asserted that the program of activity of the health service should take account the actual state of health of the inhabitants of the district. In the Poznan area, it is characterized by a higher percentage of diseases of the circulatory system, neuroses, and the relatively high average age of its inhabitants. The health care of mother and child, and environmental protection on the job and at home cannot disappear from view. Among the disturbing phenomena, one must also list social pathology such as alcoholism and drug addiction. The introduction into the investment programs in Poznan of a number of new health service facilities, such as, for example, the construction of a

hospital on Rataje and an isolation and cancer hospital, although they do not provide full satisfaction, bring at least some satisfaction. The party organizations active in the health service are faced with the important task of counteracting the attitude of indifference and of insensitivity with respect to patients.

Andrzej Ratajczak, worker of the Poznan Metalchem Chemical Machinery Works, described the most vital problems connected with stepping up production. He stated that there are problems in the supply of workclothes, gloves, and footwear. Obsolete machinery plant has a retarding influence on production growth. A shortage of replacement parts and special tools is being felt, which has an influence on the lowering of production quality. In the opinion of the discussant, the achievements of technological progress ought to be utilized to a greater degree than they have so far, and the kinds of working conditions should be created for the workers that would permit utilization of all of the workers' capabilities and skills.

Antoni Szczucinski, first secretary of the school committee of the PZPR at the Adam Mickiewicz University broached two questions in his speech. He referred to the questions connected with the ideological image of the party and to its activity in the community of scientific personnel. The speaker also called attention to the fact that in March of this year, we will be celebrating the 100th anniversary of the death of Karl Marx. Posing the question of what the state of marxist consciousness is in the society and in the party itself, he noted that there exists a fundamental difference between belief in and a knowledge of marxism. Activity aimed at the formation of a materialist philosophy of life for youth is essential. Analyzing the research, and educational work of the Adam Mickiewicz University, comrade Szczucinski stated that the school is marking numerous achievements in all of these fields.

Representing the personnel of the Railroad Rolling Stock Repair Shops in Poznan, Lech Bartkowiak concentrated his attention on the work of the Wilde party work [sentence as published]. He announced, among other things, a proposal concerning the reintroduction of a three-stage administrative division. He also spoke of the necessity for solving the difficult situation of the city section's roadways, for increasing construction of so-called space-filler buildings of necessary preschools and commercial pavilions that had been included earlier in plans. Despite the crisis plaguing the country, the realization of these plans is necessary, in the discussant's opinion. The speaker also called attention to the necessity for putting into effect the resolutions of the 9th PZPR Congress for broadening cooperation with youth, and for undertaking the kinds of activities which would assemble representatives of all social communities around the ideas of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth.

At the closing of the discussions, Jozef Czyrek, member of the Politburo, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, made an address (we are publishing the coverage of the concluding speech separately).

A total of 24 comrades spoke during the discussions. They represented all of the social communities. Eleven texts were put on the record.

The Provincial Conference of the PZPR, in a special statement, expressed its emphatic protest against the attempt in the FRG to question the permanence of the territorial-political realities in Europe.

Then, the conference adopted a resolution containing the program of work of the provincial party instance at the second part of this session.

The Provincial Reports-Programs Conference concluded with the singing of the Internationale.

First Secretary Edward Lukasik's Speech

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 14 Feb 83 p 2

[Text of speech by Edward Lukasik, first secretary of the Poznan Province Committee of the PZPR, at the Poznan Province Reports-Programs Conference, in Poznan on 12 February 1983]

[Text] In accordance with the will of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the Polish United Workers Party, a reports conference is the statutory form of enumerating party activity, evaluating the gain of permanent achievements or failures to date, and also for laying down the tasks for the second half of the term of office. "The reports campaign that was conducted made it possible for the party members to express themselves on the vital matters of the party and country, of the factory where they work, and of their professional circle."

The realization of the program of the 9th Congress was and continues to be the vital and unavoidable obligation of the entire party. We remember the time when, on the road to its realization, through the fault of the antisocialist forces, dangers arose that loomed over our homeland, over the party. At the beginning of December 1981, the country stood face to face with disaster. The Proclamation of the Military Council for National Salvation, and the decisive action of the armed forces and the public order organs made the attempt against the socialist state come to naught.

"The strength and close order of the party has and will have decisive significance for the process of socialist rebirth," stressed the speaker further. "The time since August 1980 is an experience of great import for the party and its provincial organization. It enhances the knowledge, the method of thinking and of acting with new values."

Among these, those that concern the style and methods of party work count the most: the sensitivity and careful hearing out by the leading party links to the attitudes and opinions of the party ranks in the voices of the basic organization.

The party began the work of building credibility for the ideals and values of socialism and the difficult process of socialist renovation from its own self. It undertook this in an unusually complicated sociopolitical and economic situation, under the pressure of the enemy, who wanted to convert the working class into a force clearing the road to class domination--antiworker sense.

The activities of the antisocialist forces exploiting social dissatisfactions, also appeared in our province. However, here they met with a more limited response. The maturity and civil discretion of the majority of the inhabitants and factory personnel were stronger than the calculations and manipulations of the political troublemakers. Under current conditions, the traditional traits of Poznan residents are very much in our favor. The discretion and sound criticism of society obliges party members to undertake well-conceived and sensible activities for the structuring of plans commensurate with realistic capabilities and the most urgent needs.

Turning to the description of internal party affairs, the first secretary of the Provincial Committee stated, among other things, that the reports campaign indicated that the process of strengthening the party and the recovery of its authority and significance in social and political life is a fact more and more evident and perceptible.

In the difficult economic situation, many party organizations set forth against the social problems that had developed, actively joined in the solution of the economic problems of plants and of the living problems of the personnel. During the period after the introduction of martial law, through the initiative of the party, social commissions were formed to fill the gaps that occurred after the suspension of the activity of the trade unions. Party organizations likewise undertook active work in promoting the introduction of economic reform.

The totality of these undertakings and initiatives affirmed the truth of the fact that the party is the only force having a comprehensive program for leading the country out of the crisis, and which is capable of joining together the most conscientious part of society about the realization of this program, in close cooperation with its allies--the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party.

In the removal of obstacles from the road of socialist development of Poland, we are accompanied by the awareness that we are not alone with our troubles, that we can always count on the international help of the fraternal socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union.

The 9th PZPR Congress pointed out the need for deepening the ties of the party with all of society. The rapid and effective response of the party to the irregularities and degeneration reported by the public, the elimination of wrongdoing, favoritism, clique-formation in the bureaucracy, and ill-treatment of people has to be part of the permanent practice of party work.

The provincial level has high regard for the signals coming from the populace, gives them the proper priority, and strives to improve the system of handling them. Success is not only the handling of concrete matters, but constant observance of the rules of law and order, whose social fairness is a permanent element of our life.

"We direct this order, above all, to the members of the party working in institutions and organs of state and economic administration," emphasized the speaker. "Every day, the comrades who are representing our party there should always unite their professional attitude with the attitude of a PZPR member, observe the direct link between the method of handling matters, the treatment of a petitioner, and the image and authority of the party in the eyes of the public, and confidence in the apparatus of a socialist state."

The attainment of the approval of the working masses for the program and decisions of the party are the basis of its leading and guiding role in the state and society.

One of the forms of joining into action of all of those from various social and life philosophical positions who wish to increase our common values, is the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth. "It is our desire," said the speaker, "for the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth to be a fully genuine action so that it will introduce into our social life patriotic and civic values, attained by the roots of the best traditions and examples of activity of the society of Wielkopolska."

One of the institutions serving the working class in fulfilling its role in the dialectic process of history is the trade union. In spite of propaganda, and even the pressure of the political enemy that is making itself felt, which calls for the boycott of the new trade unions in our enterprises and institutions, a continuous growth of initiative groups and founding committees is occurring. In some plants, the first union elections have taken place.

The big trump card in the development of the country is the youthfulness of Polish society, and the potential for science and skill of the younger generation. Youth concerns, the defense of their interests, and efforts for their broader participation in social life--these are the questions that should be found at the center of attention of the youth unions. In all of these areas and action, by initiating worthwhile initiatives and proposals, the youth unions can count on the support of party echelons and organizations.

We are fully aware that some phenomena continue to be a source of tension and destabilization of the socioeconomic life of the country. The economic and propaganda aggression conducted against Poland by the western states, especially by the U.S. administration, has not let up. The underground has not laid down its arms, although the operating base of social support given to it is shrinking more and more.

As a result of the stabilization of the sociopolitical situation, substitute fields of political battle are appearing. The enemy, who lost the initiative in December 1981, and since that time has been losing it constantly, is trying to create a political battlefield in work establishments, taking advantage of our economic difficulties, and making use of social demagogery, based on the discussion of distribution and not of production. In this way, the economy is the main political battlefield.

The course of the economic processes in the Poznan area indicates several advantageous trends, especially in the scale of the size of production. These effects, although limited for the time being, have to be recognized as a true indicator of the rectification and stabilization of the economic situation of the province. However, a number of difficulties are still appearing, especially in the process of implementing economic reform. Their elimination requires a greater mobilization of the basic party organizations that are functioning in the enterprises. They have to recognize, as one of the most urgent tasks, that of communicating the complete knowledge of the principles of economic reform from the party aktiv level to all party members and personnel, and then to follow up with adherence to them.

The situation in the party organizations functioning in the countryside is quite varied. The reports campaign stimulated many political links in the area. However, there is a necessity for a further increase of the political work with PZPR members and rural society as a whole and for an increase in aid to rural basic party organizations. This is a political problem with an importance that extends far beyond the borders of Poznan Province.

The successful realization of the tasks of Poznan agriculture, which are so essential for the rapid and radical rectification of the feeding of society, will depend not only on the size of investments and material resources that the state allocates for agriculture and for the industry producing for the needs of agricultural production. The atmosphere in the countryside, the overall sociopolitical situation, and the understanding and support for the directions of development of agriculture outlined by the joint 11th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and the Supreme Executive Committee of the Polish Peasant Party will also be decisive to a lesser degree.

Speaking about the possibility of exploitation of the economic difficulties by the antisocialist opposition, we cannot lose sight of other areas of social life endangered by enemy penetration. One of them is the academic community. The party organization in Poznan institutions is experiencing a period of revaluation, and a search for new forms of political educational work and of its influence on the community. They are doing it with varied success. It is very evident that where ideological zeal and high principle in action are greatest, the political counteracting of enemy deeds is most effective. Such problems are evident also in the educational and cultural communities.

"During the course of the reports campaign," said the first secretary of the Provincial Committee, in closing, "at many meetings and conferences, we

have adopted resolutions outlining the tasks of the basic party echelons for the second half of the term of office. This is just the first, nonetheless very important step."

Today, we are saying that the most difficult stage is already behind us. The country has been rescued from self-destruction and civil war. Martial law has distinctly brought the horizon of normalization closer to the areas where it is most needed. However, the logic of the class struggle is such that the counterrevolution, although defeated, does not lay its arms down. Therefore, let us continue to maintain our consciousness that the time of danger has not passed yet.

The forging together of the values of the party program with the ideological temper and steadfastness of our ranks can become a source of strength, be decisive for the success of our plans and aspirations, and can become the guarantee of successful development.

Secretary Jozef Czyrek's Speech

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 14 Feb 83 p 3

[Abridged version of speech by Jozef Czyrek, member of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee at the Poznan Province Reports-Programs Conference in Poznan on 12 February 1983]

[Text] At the beginning, the secretary of the PZPR Central Central Committee paid tribute to the Poznan party organization for its contribution to the realization of the program of the 9th PZPR Congress, for strengthening the ideological-political unity of the party ranks, for their organizational cohesiveness, for the fact that the provincial party organization in its daily work and activity reaffirms the leading role of the party in bringing the country out of its crisis and in the introduction of the necessary reforms of our social and economic life.

This posture and activity of the Poznan party organization is of even greater importance since this area plays a very important role in the political and economic life of the country, and is an industrial-agricultural and cultural-scientific center, that exerts influence far beyond its own borders.

The results achieved in various field in the Poznan area are a valuable contribution to the rebirth of our life, and to the overcoming of the crisis and its effects.

The known and valued traits of the Poznan working class and its society, its deep patriotism, its proverbial reliability and industriousness, and its feeling of civic responsibility are such that the entire party and the country attach great significance to the work of the provincial party organization and to the results achieved by this area.

In turn, the Secretary of the Central Committee reiterated the most important stages of the party's struggle to bring the country out of the crisis by the consistent realization of the program of the 9th PZPR Congress, concentrating on the tasks of the current stage. We shall call it the stage of rebirth.

The speaker gave particular attention to the matter of science and education. He emphasized that, in this field, there are obvious trends advantageous for the vanquishing of the variegated effects of the crisis, that a decisive majority of the scientific and educational personnel are carrying out their professional and educational duties.

This is particularly important in a situation in which this sector of our life is subjected to the constantly changing pressures of the political and ideological enemy, and at the same time, is struggling with many material, personnel, and organizational difficulties. This is particularly true with school teaching. We have to deal with a new demographic explosion, which is crossing school thresholds. In large, densely-settled areas, school systems are not suited for growing needs. Under the crisis conditions, the needs of school systems in many provinces have remained on the back burner.

Territorial self-government ought to play an important role in overcoming these difficulties, in addition to the actions of the government. The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth ought to become a factor in this area.

There is no way to solve the problems of the school system, and its didactic and educational level, without highly-skilled and devoted personnel. From this standpoint, we are entering a difficult period. We are threatened with the emergence of personnel gaps in the school system which are impossible to fill in a short time. In making these efforts, we attempt to appeal to the feeling of patriotic duty of praiseworthy teaching personnel, that in the interest of the younger generation, and in the interest of society and their homeland, they will continue to devote their efforts to the important matter of teaching and bringing up the youth.

At the conclusion, the secretary of the Central emphasized that we have the necessary prerequisites and capabilities for realizing the tasks set forth. We have sufficient forces in the party and the socialist state. He also expressed the conviction that the Poznan Province party organ will make a worthy contribution to the realization of these tasks and of the program of the 9th PZPR Congress.

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SUWALKI PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Reports-Programs Conference Starts

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 14 Feb 83 p 1

[Article: "Today at Suwalki Provincial PZPR Reports-Programs Conference. Have a Fruitful Debate!"]

[Text] This Monday is an important day for the party and for all residents of Suwalki Province. Provincial PZPR Reports-Programs Conference is holding its debate here today, to sum up the reporting campaign conducted in recent months in all PZPR organizational components within the region. Its objective is to evaluate both the achievements and failures in all areas of party activity and determination of direction for continued work.

PZPR members and candidate members, richer in experience, should set for themselves goals and tasks on which the future of the region and the country will depend. It is therefore necessary for levels of their activity to increase in every human collective and community, in labor unions, PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] units and in employee self-government government bodies. Major responsibility for further normalization of the country's life rests with the party. Winning people over can only be accomplished only by each comrade's providing affirmative personal examples.

Implementation of economic reform is the decisive factor for speedy emergence from the present difficulties. The assumptions of the reform and early experience should penetrate the consciousness of persons at all levels, release their ambitions and help change their mindset from "taking" to "giving of oneself." The countryside likewise is expecting that an offensive entry into the springtime farming campaign, which is a task of enormous significance, will be accomplished.

The set of tasks facing the party is extensive. The Provincial Conference will permit their specific determination. We must all realize the truth that a better future for the country, for provinces, towns, gminas, and villages, should be created by daily diligent work. Only then will our collective effort contribute to the overwhelming of the crisis, to a change in society's consciousness, and most importantly, to implementation of the course of socialist renewal outlined at the 9th PZPR Congress.

As one of the delegates to today's conference has said, much depends on the working out of a good program, but much more depends on its consistent implementation.

This is precisely what we wish the conference delegates and participants and the provincial organization's more than 24,000 members.

May your debate be fruitful!

Remarks by Conference Delegates

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 14 Feb 83 p 3

[Text] Henryk Kierklo--farmer from Brzozowka, a village in Barglow Koscielny Gmina. The countryside and the party components operating in rural areas are primarily concerned now with economic issues. The party's reporting campaign testified to that.

It is being said and written that the nation can feed itself on its own. We farmers are in agreement with this claim but we know at the same time that production must be profitable for us. Little will change until there is stabilization and appropriate price setting.

Townpeople clamor that we, out in the country, already have so much money that we do nothing except standing in lines to get carpets and furniture. This is nonsense. Nobody notices that until 1981 a binder could be bought for the equivalent of 47 quintals of rye. Now it takes 88 quintals. I made a rough calculation of my profits from cultivating 1 hectare of rye. Once I deducted the various costs, it amounted to slightly more than 12,000 zlotys. How about my labor, frustration, and running from office to office? Nobody seems to notice those. I would not claim that farmers are currently in bad shape, but a person who has been farming for 20 years or more and working with his entire family from dawn till night must have something coming to him from this sort of work. There are some well-off people in the countryside, for the most part, owners of greenhouses and tobacco planters.

Production development is being hindered by the many years of neglect. In our gmina, land reclamation is the top problem. Our needs are great, and judging by the present rate, unlikely to be met soon. The second major barrier are capital goods, mainly machinery. I have found out by experience how difficult it is to obtain machines.

My neighbors often say: You are a party activist--please help. It is with those farmers' concerns that I am going to Suwalki. At the same time, I realize that the provincial conference will not produce more tractors, food and housing tomorrow. However, an operational program developed at the conference and later consistently implemented can and must produce measurable results.

It seems to me that the most important thing is not to pull the wool over people's eyes. Their concerns, requests and comments must fall on listening

ears. Wherever possible, they ought to be helped. In cases where assistance is impossible, people should be advised and told the truth. The point is to let no one feel wronged or neglected. Such conduct should guide daily operation of the party and all citizen-serving institutions. Only in this way will the party be able to win prestige and society's trust.

Tadeusz Jezicrski, first secretary of PZPR Plant Committee at the PKP [Polish State Railroad] junction station in Elk.

I feel like taking the floor at the Provincial conference in Suwalki. I intend to speak about the methods to induce youth into social work. Many adults complain about young people and present them in dark colors, but I, for one, want to defend them. I believe that Polish youth is not so bad, of which I became persuaded on the basis of contacts with the young people at our station.

Before I was elected secretary, I worked at a locomotive depot with a large ZSMP [Association of Polish Socialist Youth] circle whose members in many cases belonged to the PZPR. They were bright boys, easy to communicate with. I think that our contacts were facilitated by our shared hobby, fishing, among other things. I suggested that it was worth filling the empty display cases in front of the railroad stations. Because our fishing circle receives a subscription of "Poland's Nature" and "Fishing News," I proposed that they display interesting photographs and publications. The display cases now have their permanent caretakers. Displayed items will be regularly replaced.

Shared work is a source of great joy, even if what one does is not a major job. I will offer another example. Children from our railroad employees; preschool have a lot of fun playing with a train built for them at our station. The idea came from the locomotive depot where a miniature locomotive was constructed. Then the train car depot joined in and built a tiny car. It took some effort to fix the train, but we are happy because the preschoolers enjoy it a great deal.

It is regrettable that not all the young people wish to do something useful for themselves or for others. It is much more difficult for me to relate to the young people within the car depot. They have a ZSMP circle as well, but none among the young workers belongs to the PZPR. Under a PRON initiative, we arranged a meeting with the car depot young people, but only a few of them came.

We should not become dispirited, however. We will continue to consistently work with the young people. They will understand. I believe, that watching from the sidelines is of no use and they will ultimately join in social work.

Josef Krawczyk, provincial physician in Suwalki.

Construction of a provincial hospital is an emotional issue for the residents of Suwalki and the entire region. Many questions about it were asked at PZPR

reporting meetings. If the present rate of work is maintained, the first patients will be taken in next year. We also received the Ministry of Health decision on starting the construction of additional 5 specialized annexes and a psychiatric hospital.

Completion of the main facility at Suwalki will not, however, solve all of the health care problems in the province. Another town, Elk, also requires a new hospital, for which approval has already been granted. Documentation is to be prepared by the end of 1985. In fact, the list of our needs is very long. Urgently needed are health care centers and outpatient clinics to be built in Punszk, Kalinow and Biala Piska.

Personnel, or rather lack thereof, is another essential problem. We are able to give immediate employment to nearly 150 physicians, 60 stomatologists and 20 pharmacologists. With an additional 84 doctors needed by the provincial hospital alone, the extent of our needs is downright alarming. The most powerful attack on for personnel are apartments, known to be in short supply.

Much is being said about medical practitioners' dishonesty, unfriendliness and inadequate qualifications. It is difficult to share such opinions. I am convinced that the health care personnel in Suwalki Province are properly carrying out their duties. If some shortcomings do surface, they are chiefly due to the difficult working conditions.

POPs have an increasing share in evaluations of employee attitudes in health care. They also have a growing share in finding solutions to problems and difficult matters.

Leszek Kordowski, welding crew leader at the Fishing Plant in Gizycko.

Currently, our organization numbers 87 members. At our meetings and in private conversations we talk for the most part about the present and future, for the past, especially the most recent past, is well known to all. Although daily living is not easy at all, most people tend to look at everyday worries not only through the filter of their own interests but also within a broader context.

It must be said that, although earlier few people addressed the POP with their problems, we have a good number of applicants, frequently nonmembers, these days. Their concerns pertain for the most part to the plant, in fact, they were the main topic at a reporting meeting.

What is the party like today? Of course it is the same party, but with a difference. Here is one of many examples. Until recently, it was difficult to get to the office of the city secretary. Now, there are no problems with a visit to any level secretary, including the provincial secretary. He can be visited by applicants with even the most trifling concerns. Also, I cannot imagine that anyone can now be forced to do things. People know now that democracy exists and will be continued. Of course, the party bylaws and democratic centralism are in force, and approved resolutions must be complied with.

The party can regain society's complete trust through consistent implementation of 9th Congress resolutions. Note that for quite some time now no extravagant promises have been made. It is better to have that which is planned--even if only a little--accomplished thoroughly and fully.

Czeslaw Warakomski, principal of Collective Gmina School at Plaska.

Recently, our organization successfully handled several issue of importance for our gmina, including a supply of water for Plaska and construction of Plaska-Strzelcowizna 9-kilometer road section.

People notice and appreciate those things. Regaining society's trust by the party is possible precisely by handling every justified complaint and every human problem. In other words, there should be fewer words and more specific actions. For this reason, we have adopted the principle of responding rapidly to any suggestion offered. They cannot become lost in the paperwork.

I managed to put together a good team at the school. Our POP is closely linked with the teachers' council, and we deal with all problems together. In the recent past, teachers received 7 apartments, but the housing problems persists, though are ours is not a large gmina. I intend to address this problem, along with the educational personnel problem, at the provincial conference. On occasion, high school graduates are employed out of necessity because of the lack of qualified candidates.

Education is, in fact, an extensive topic, e.g., instruction programs. They are overloaded, which is the source of failure for many students. Periods scheduled for upbringing activities should be better exploited. Absence of contact between home room teacher and student frequently becomes a major obstruction to the development of a young mentality.

I believe that the provincial conference will be a very important step forward in the solution of our region's problems.

Reports-Programs Conference Deliberations

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 15 Feb 83 pp 1,2

[Article by Aniela Labanow, Ryszard Klimaszewski and Stanislaw Kulikowski: "We Will Follow the Path Outlined by the 9th Congress. In Sustained Contact With Working People of Town and Country. PZPR Report-Programs Conference in Suwalki Province"]

[Text] Attended by 214 delegates representing more than 24,000 members and candidate members, the Provincial PZPR Reports-Programs Conference held its deliberations in Suwalki yesterday. Those participating included: CC Secretary Mirosław Milewski, Deputy Chief of CC Information Department Jerzy Lazarz, Vice Minister of Agriculture and Food Economy Stanisław Szczepanski, Vice Minister of Domestic Trade and Services Edward Szymanski, Vice Minister of Forestry and Timber Industry Jerzy Plewa, and president of

CZSM Jerzy Osinski. Attending the conference as guests were chairman of the Democratic Party's provincial committee Jerzy Gryko, secretary of the United Peasant Party provincial committee Stefan Staronowicz, Governor Kazimierz Jablonski, and Committee For National Salvation plenipotentiary Col. Kazimierz Wojtowicz.

On the occasion of a centennial of Polish workers movement, the conference opened with a special ceremony to honor--with memorial medals and congratulatory letters from First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski--the following distinguished KPP [Communist Party of Poland] and PPR [Polish Workers' Party] activists: Czeslaw Antonkiewicz from Suwalki, Jan Baran from Milokajki, Feliks Rola from Marcinowa Wola (Milki Gmina) Wegorzewo Gmina Stefan Stachowicz from Suwalki, and Feliks Michon from Wesolowo.

Since the June 1981 reports-elections conference, the Suwalki party organization has traveled a difficult stretch in its path. Extremist Solidarity leaders in the region exhibited exceptional aggressiveness toward the party and the people's rule. However, little was said about the past at the conference, about the past difficulties in the defense of socialism. The participants focused their attention on the present. The debate proceeded in an atmosphere of the party's growing strength, understanding for the difficult tasks involved in the overcoming of the crisis and development of societal consensus.

The discussion centered on matters concerning further consolidation of unity and organizational cohesion of the party in the province, development of committee attitudes, and strengthening the bonds of the party with the working people of town and country in order to solve socioeconomic problems more rapidly.

A report of the executive board introducing the delegates in the debate was presented by provincial committee First Secretary Waldemar Berdya.

Governor Kazimierz Jablonski was the first speaker in the debate. He acquainted the conferees with the administrative authorities' performance on chief socioeconomic tasks and on the operational program for 1983-85. Because of the province's essential role in agricultural production, he paid much attention to land utilization, reclamation, mechanization, industrial assistance to farming and other factors for intensification of plant production and stock raising. Thanks to the measures which have been taken and supported by substantial outlays (45 percent of overall financial outlays), farming in Suwalki Province has registered noticeable advances. It still has, the speaker said, considerable unused potential. Consequently, during the next three years this sector will receive increased outlays and agrotechnical assistance. At issue is maximization of grain and food production in which local PGR State Farms should play a major role.

Consequently, the governor discussed the situation in housing construction (more than 9,500 apartments need to be built and single family house construction must be developed), trade, health service, education and local economy. There are many difficulties, still, but there are also symptoms

of improvement. That improvement will become increasingly perceptible owing to coordination of actions by interested services and enterprises, along with active support of society.

Jerzy Bauer, chairman of Miara Cooperative in Orzysz took the floor next. Thanks to the proper utilization of economic reform mechanisms and dedication of the workforce in 5 of its plants, the cooperative--which posted losses in the past--has become profitable. During the past year, it increased output by nearly 22 percent (including a three-fold increase in export-g geared production), combined with simultaneous improvement of product quality and a 15 million zloty reduction in manufacturing cost.

Noting these results, the speaker critically commented on these enterprises whose own interest obviates the interests of society. He criticized price raises intended to obtain excessive profit and attempts on the part of some materials suppliers to participate in foreign currency deductions granted to manufacturers of finished products.

Piotr Rytwinski, a farmer, described the situation economic in the gmina of Wizajny. His comments brought forth proposals on land reclamation, water supply construction, and machinery and equipment supply.

The POP role and place in work establishments were discussed by Edmund Niedzwiedzki from the Communal and Housing Economy Enterprise in Pisz. Not all party organizations, in his opinion, are able to cope with their tasks in implementing the economic reform, among other things. He raised the problem of land reclamation in the gmina of Pisz, to be carried out on nearly 8,000 hectares of meadowland in 4 enclaves, including one belonging to a stock farm in Borki. Farmers are of the opinion that their gmina is discriminated against in this respect, and that land reclamation enterprises are unwilling to tackle the job because of the level of complexity.

Leonard Sikora, a PKS driver from Augustow, devoted his statement largely to law and public security. He affirmed that voices had been raised demanding stiffer sentences and rigorous enforcement. He also presented the difficulties in freight transport: work-free Saturdays and poor job management result in frequent empty runs of transport vehicles.

In turn, Provincial Party Control Commission Chairman Aleksander Chilecki commented on the commission's activities aimed at preserving the purity of party ranks. During the period reported on, the commission reviewed a total of 406 cases, conducted 440 preventive conversations, and 20 cases are currently under review. POPs and party control commissions at lower levels developed many-sided activities as well. As a result of those, the Suwalki party organization, though numerically less strong, has become more mature politically and took over the initiative, step by step consolidating its positions despite many difficulties.

WK SD Chairman Jerzy Gryko and SC ZSL Secretary Stefan Staranowicz expressed their heartfelt greetings to the delegates and wishes of a fruitful debate,

emphasizing that the party and other political groupings are faced with shared tasks intended to lead the country out of the crisis.

Romuald Kwaterski, school director from Blaskowizna, stipulated the most rapid possible decision on the fate of the Jeleniewo mine because the continued uncertainty had caused an outflow of young people from the countryside and abandonment of all investment and repairs, which adversely affected agricultural production.

WSS [Rural Consumers Cooperative] Olecko division director Witold Kwiatkowski, chairman of the Provincial Review Board, presented the board's activities. In conjunction with review commissions of all levels, nearly 1,400 checks were conducted in POPs, plant committees and KW divisions in order to test inter-party matters, modes of complaint handling, and implementation of motions and resolutions, i.e., all areas of party activity. Improvement was found in the work of POP intra-party activity, however, the party's weakest links--rural organizations--still require concern and increased assistance.

Marek Starczewski, chief editor of the Krajobrazy weekly, spoke about a model for on-the-field party operations. He pointed out the organization, echelon and party members' role as providers of inspiration and commenced on their influence on publications his weekly printed.

What purpose is the Agricultural Development Fund to serve? Mirosław Burba, farmer from Zatyki village, said no questions of this kind had been asked since payments into the fund had become mandatory. Farmer circles cooperatives however, misinterpreting profitability, are getting rid of agricultural machinery because the services they render for customers like road-building enterprises are more expensive than those they perform for farmers. The speaker suggested that the matter be investigated by the Agriculture and Food Commission.

Cultural problems were raised by Zofia Chelminska, Educational Library, Augustow. She spoke about a declining movement of amateur performers and the failure of gmina schools to provide extracurricular optional activities. Major cultural centers suffer from a shortage of funds, while provincial level locations, not to mention the gmina level ones, do not even get such sought-after publications as dictionaries and encyclopedias.

A doctor from Elk Norber Lisowski, member of the presidium of PNON Provisional Provincial Coordinating Council, devoted his statement to the rebirth movement, affirming that the movement provided everyone with an opportunity to develop his personality and to fulfill social, political and professional aspirations. The movement found a favorable background in Suwalki Province. PRON units are receiving increasing numbers of requests to handle. Valuable initiatives are being launched, among others, the Prefabet plant in Elk declared its readiness to manufacture semiprocessed construction materials to speed up the construction of a hospital.

PZPR city committee first secretary in Suwalki, Ryszard Olow, focused his attention on the problems the city organization has to handle. Among

intraparty concerns, those include consolidation of the POP, whereas issues of importance for the city and its residents include construction and housing management, along with supply and customer servicing.

During the past 7 years, more than 32,000 people left Suwalki rural areas. Three thousand farmers have no successors. Those were the opening lines of a statement by Tadeusz Jaglowski, farmer from Ponizie Village in the gmina of Augustow, PZPR CC member. He proposed for the region to be classified (because of its economic and geographical conditionings) as a submontane area or, at least, to receive preferential treatment on tax deductions and other benefits. Agricultural production should be given priority in Suwalki region. He also raised the question of advisory services, which fail to perform their role vis-a-vis farmers, as their successive reorganization (a shift to WOPR) did them no good.

Chairperson of the Provincial Advisory and Consultative Team for labor unions Stanislaw Kowalska commented on the establishment of trade unions in Suwalki Province. Until now, 85 unions have been registered. It is not a large number, considering that welfare and living-standards commissions will soon terminate their activities and allowance disbursement.

KOK plenipotentiary Col Kazimierz Wojtowicz focused on Poland's political condition and the party's operations during the past 2 years. He also presented the multitude of problems which the field operational groups and KOK plenipotentiaries had to handle. Overall, they received 12,118 cases (including 172 personnel cases, 2,682 housing cases, more than 2,000 living-concern cases, and others). Only 13 percent of those were disposed of negatively.

ZW TPPR [Provincial Board of Polish-Soviet Friendship Society] Chairman Aleksy Lozowski commented on the work of the society's aktiv. The society's subdivisions and activists, he said, knew even during the most difficult period how to direct their activities so that they would foster the Polish-Soviet friendship and the cause of Polish-USSR alliance.

Rural concerns were raised by Boleslaw Idek, farmer from the gmina of Wydmyny. He pointed out numerous defects in the work of institutions which service the farming sector and noted lack of precision in the regulations governing the operation of agricultural economy, especially those concerning contract deliveries, the tax system and farmers' insurance.

Vice Minister Stanislaw Szczepanski took a position on the comments concerning agriculture and food sector. He commented at length on the most important rural concerns, including land reclamation, which largely preconditions increase in agricultural production. This is a matter of first order in the Suwalki region as well. At this time, no effort should be spared to find all the resources possible for that purpose. The vice minister also referred to rural supply of capital goods, contract delivery problems and other issues of vital interest to rural residents, including taxation, retirement and pensions. The present levels of social security protection for rural residents, he said, is a compromise between genuine needs and realistic possibilities of the state.

Youth upbringing problems were raised by Marian Sniekowski, teacher from a comprehensive secondary school in Augustow. He said that education was the one area in which no economies should ever be attempted. This is equally true with regard to teacher positions, especially those of rural teachers. In the speaker's opinion, it is necessary to consolidate in intraparty work the positive process of consultation on major decisions.

MO [Citizens' Militia] provincial commander Col Franciszek Kaczmarek discussed the status of law and order in the region. After 13 December 1981, activities of overtly antisocialist groups were curbed. At the same time there was a notable decline in activity of offenders of all types. Most importantly, the number of especially dangerous crimes distinctly decreased. The present situation, marked by growing activity of certain persons and groups in the area of marketeering, illegal trading, alcohol production, economic abuses and wastage of public property. Substantial participation of underage offenders ranks among alarming factors. On the other hand, a favorable symptom is the halting of a wave of criminal offenses and increased rates of detection of offenses and offenders.

To conclude the discussion, the floor was taken by Politburo member, CC Secretary Mirosław Milewski who responded to a number of questions and doubts and commented on the most important party endeavors geared toward the solution of economic and social problems.

The 9th Congress resolution, he said, compel us to equitably distribute the resources worked out by the nation. Hence not all of the delegates' stipulations, even if justified, can be fulfilled. The CC Politburo and the CC Secretariat are consistently implementing the Congress programs in all areas. This is manifested, among other ways, in the publication of all materials and motions. Likewise the scope of authority of individuals responsible for performance of the assigned tasks is clearcut. With respect to accountability for past errors, this issue must be approached with discretion and a sense of justice. Some of those persons have already suffered the consequences, others will be made accountable consistent with the principles of justice and lawful rules.

At this time, it is necessary to remain cautious in making promises to prevent a situation in which our words fail to be backed up. It is necessary to realize that the emergence from the crisis requires a major lasting effort on the part of all people. Decisiveness must always accompany action whenever we put into effect correct decisions.

Consistency should be demonstrated to the greatest extent in winning over the knowledge, skills, and a will to act of all those citizens who adhere to the PRL Polish People's Republic constitution. This is the goal of PRON and this is also the purpose of the trade unions which are to become a genuine champion of interests of the working people.

We frequently encounter standard-of-living concerns, which are excessive under the present situation, addressed to the authorities. We cannot meet all of them. We can only apportion that which is currently available.

The Suwalki organization is facing its most important task, to rebuild its bond to workers, young people, and all patriots. The best path to reach this goal is to translate skillfully the language of our approved program into a language of specific actions and solutions.

The conference adopted a resolution defining the provincial organization's operational program for the second part of the term.

The deliberations were concluded by the signing of the Internationale.

First Secretary Waldemar Berdyga's Speech

✓ Białystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 15 Feb 83 p 3

[Article: "The Party's Prestige Is Fortified not Only by Good Intentions but Mostly by Consistent Settlement of Legitimate Concerns. Account of the Statement by Waldemar Berdyga, First Secretary of PZPR Provincial Committee in Suwalki"]

[Text] The first secretary began by referring to the situation in which the 2 June 1981 resolution of the Provincial Reports-Elections Conference took shape. It emerged at a time of considerable difficulty for the party. Party members demonstrated then a wide range of attitudes. Some spoke from the heart, as if they opened up and become sincere, trying to build up party prestige by deed rather than by word. Others, deeply affected and wounded, were showcasing their pessimism, seeking and occasionally groping in the dark to find those accountable and guilty. There were also those who had become party members by accident and took advantage of a precarious situation to flee party ranks, frequently making no effort to hide their hostility toward socialism.

In retrospect, we can now state with complete contentment that the conference's resolution has lost none of its topicality. At the time, a victory was won by assessments carried out with avid dedication resulting from pure and noble intentions and from a desire to rebuild a strong party, genuinely expressing the interests of the working class and all laboring people. At the same time, it was a demand for guarantees which would eradicate subjective and objective reasons [for what had happened] and would consolidate the belief that what had happened was not to happen again. That heated, frequently embittered, debate made it possible to adopt a program that continued to be valid not because of its comprehensiveness but because of its correct diagnosis and prescribed treatment. The resemblance between our resolution and the 9th Extraordinary PZPR Congress decisions was not accidental, the secretary said. It resulted from an analysis of the same phenomena and from a determination of what was good and what was bad. The 9th Congress resolution became a beam of light illuminating the path which we are to follow to reach socialist renewal.

Subsequently, comrade W. Berdyga described the sociopolitical situation in which the 9th Congress resolution was being implemented. He stated that

opponents of the political system directed their attacks against our party, fully aware that there could be no socialism without a marxist-leninist party.

There were attempts to strike the heaviest blow at PZPR's credibility in order to isolate the party completely from society. We were accused of inability to perform a leadership role. Assertions were made that the party did not want, or was unable to take action and guide the country out of an economic and moral crisis, that it did not intend to put the expected reforms into effect.

The perfidiousness of this strategy centered on the fact that at the same time all available methods were used to block the implementation of PZPR Central Committee and 9th Congress resolutions and governmental decisions, which was leading to economic disaster. The imposition of martial law saved us from a national tragedy.

After 13 December 1983 it became clear that the imposition of martial law improved the conditions for party work. On the other hand, there emerged some completely new problems which the party continued to solve consistently. I hasten to add that struggle to maintain peace was the chief issue.

That struggle was won by the party within our province. It should be stressed that during that trial our society passed a political test and proved to be able to discern the road leading in the right direction.

Time clarifies refined images of past events. I would not be surprised if those days will be labeled sometime the onset of renewal of party organizations' bonds with society, or the first successful attempt at genuine partnership. It was a joint return from the edge of precipice, a shared and successful endeavor to get the upper hand over elemental emotion. It was not easy for anyone. Today, it is a lasting value despite the oppositions' attempts to recharge a climate for a confrontation during successive months of 1982. That battle, a battle for the political system, for socialism, was won.

There is a long way from apt formulas to daily practice, and we are still far from our goal. Statements to the effect that the party must be the same but with a difference principally mean that the party will safeguard collective living from disorder, that it will combat arrogance and amorality. We must be a party that is sensitive to evil, more courageous in fighting injustice, ineptness and callousness even to minor matters oppressing the fatigued people of today.

We will be needed if we palpably demonstrate to people not only our good intentions but also our ability to push just causes through to success. This calls for our presence wherever any important issues are being resolved, wherever work and struggle are in progress, in every community. It can be contended, therefore, that first and foremost, the POPs are the party. Their action or inaction are what formulates opinion and perceptions on what we

really are. The dangers we must avoid are the POPs lack of courage, sloppy and formalistic meetings, whitewashing of a community's difficult problems, failure to start initiatives which can win nonmembers' acclaim and support, and lack of assertiveness in youth circles.

The past year was a period of reinvigoration in POPs' work. This assessment, however, does not provide a complete picture of all spheres of their activity. It can be stated with total conviction that our aktiv certainly proved itself. However, in order to reach the designated goals, all of the party, all of its members must work and be fully convinced about the purposefulness of assumptions and possibility of their implementation.

In this setting, POPs' especially important task is to stimulate genuine societal activity in various forms, stemming from people's beliefs. The principal concern is to collaborate in the expansion of a base for PRON within society and to participate, through inspiration and inducement, in the establishment of new trade unions, helping to strengthen their prestige and accelerating the advancing process of creation of worker self-governments. Vigorous work of party members in self-government bodies is the building material for the party's strength and prestige in society. It is a guarantee of implementation of the adopted resolutions.

The only way to rebuild a strong party is to augment a party identity card with a mandate of societal trust.

Assertiveness so conceived has become the order of the day. Our political opponents by no means gave up on the fight. They are changing its forms, camouflaging their goals and shifting to liberal-democratic positions. This may mislead many of our activists into a wrong reading of their intentions. We must continue to be vigilant and we must mercilessly deal with overt opposition.

We should be increasingly prepared for ideological struggle over an extended time frame. This is why putting the party in a better shape and improvement in the economic sphere will be of decisive importance.

We have 65 percent of first-generation workers in our province. This fact calls for a class-focused approach to the problems, including broadly conceived education and schooling in worker traditions.

In this context, one needs to perceive the shortcomings in our work. They center on our narrowing down of those groups participating in the development of vital decisions on the concerns of the working people. Besides improving our changes for making correct decisions, partnership in decisionmaking is a factor which exempts the authorities from a presumption of infallibility and moreover causes those participating not to be opposed against what they create. Just as virtually every infraction is counted these days against socialism, any improvement will be credited to it. At this time, this principle can be applied most extensively in the economic sphere.

The first secretary emphasized in his report that a slow but noticeable improvement was taking place in Suwalki Province in the restoration of operational efficiency in industry, farming, transport and construction. It is our civic duty to take constant care to meet the plans of improved management efficiency. Better work is the key to overcoming our economic problems.

The time has come for major transformations. The prime mover in the necessary renewal will be the working class which should demonstrate its knowledge and political and economic intuition. A revolutionary situation, which is what we are dealing with now, calls for a revolutionary party--combative, monolithic in action, disciplined, speaking with one tongue, and present in all places where the causes of the nation, working class and a socialist state are at stake.

We must realize that the standards for party membership are sharper and unequivocal today. In our realities, there is neither room nor time for demonstrations, not even for revealing hesitation, doubt or weakness. Only those who are able to bear the burden of duties resulting from party membership and handle them in a conscious, responsible and disciplined manner can march together with us in the ranks.

Our resolutions must be measured and accepted as a personal determinant of the fate and conduct by each party member. A sense of dignity and satisfaction from being a member of the PZPR will continue to grow together with the sense of contentment stemming from our emergence from the crisis and from our awareness that living is more peaceful and fair thanks to us, and for ourselves as well.

What makes the citizens suffer at heart? We have posed this question many times in discussions in different communities. The answer is of one accord: injustice hurts the most. This is also true of squandering the effects of people's work, chaos, work-shirking, and poor organization on the job.

Our success is predicated on our sensitivity to the tested wisdom and instinct of the working class. This specifically means the opening of the POPs to workers. There is one more important matter--we must always keep our pledges and never promise anything that cannot be accomplished both in individual cases and collectively. Above all, we must treasure our roots, the origin of our worker heritage.

We had worked out the documents for the conference on the basis of penetrating discussions and the delegates' assessments from local meetings in the region and from sessions of problem committees. The documents contain a register of problems which we were solving, awaiting final settlement.

8795

CSO: 2600/480

ORZECZOWSKI INTERVIEWED ON NATIONAL ACCORD DIFFICULTIES

AU231535 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 21 Mar 83 pp 3-4

[Interview with Marian Orzechowski, PZPR Central Committee secretary and general secretary of the Provisional National Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth by Krystyna Kostrzewa: "Simply a Philosophy of Realism"—date, place not given]

[Excerpts] [Question] Quite often people say that words and terms have lost their meaning in our country and mean nothing. This is also true of terms such as agreement and rebirth. A reader has written to me that we are not too concerned about the meaning of these two terms. This reader adds that "this state of affairs is of no real consequence in practice because all activities are envisaged and coordinated in advance, no matter what may be said, which means that the declarations made by the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth are just empty sounds." What do you think the two terms in question should mean in the Poland of 1983? Or more simply: Who should agree with whom and for what reason and what should be reborn?

[Answer] It is hard to convince the people who are disappointed and skeptical and, what is worse, the people who always know everything better. To such people I say: Agreement is of enormous importance for the practice of living and is therefore no empty sound. The meaning of the terms agreement and rebirth is not a question of philology or philosophy. It is a question of politics. The meaning of the terms is to act in such a way as to determine the present and the future of the people. Such action stems from mutual agreement and seeks to regenerate the socioeconomic, political and ideological-moral conditions and structures of people's existence, to develop the national community and its socialist state and to change the systems of values, the principles of social life and the civic virtues that regulate relations between citizens and their state.

[Question] The basic condition for the agreement as you define it must be the conviction that Poland can only be a socialist country and that only socialism is the most rational principle and form of the Polish people's existence, which, let me be frank, means that this agreement is only for the people who accept socialism. This is why this agreement is limited in a way.

[Answer] Yes, but the arguments on which this conviction rests can be different. Agreement can and should include the citizens who have differing ideas of socialism and its essence, of the ways to create it and of the hierarchy of the tasks that help to implement it under our Polish conditions. The agreement I have in mind should include the Poles who actively participate in socialist construction and in extricating the country from its present crisis as well as the Poles who are on the sidelines, who say nothing, who doubt and who are socially disoriented and politically paralyzed by past events. This means that, as the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, we will not give up our intention to win the people easily only because they are now doubting the ability of socialism to reform itself or because they are disappointed with our past errors.

[Question] As far as I can gather from what you have said, the meaning of agreement is always the same: to overcome the crisis as rapidly and effectively as possible; to make up for the time already lost and being lost; to strengthen and straighten out socialism in Poland; and effectively to prevent conflicts and tremors, which hinder our development and push us back....

[Answer] This can be taken as a definition of agreement and rebirth. This is simply a philosophy of realism. Could not large segments of our people accept this philosophy? Could they not appreciate the patriotic movement that has decided to implement these ideals?

[Question] Constructive daily work is to be the point around which the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth intends to rally our people. Is this not too little?

[Answer] Constructive work is the point in question. Is this too little? After all, what we want to do is to make the people build for themselves their near and more distant futures. Our movement is supposed to be a factor that facilitates this work of the people and removes various difficulties, including psychological difficulties and those stemming from the relationship between the power apparatus and citizens. Our ideological-programmatic declaration, which has been published and should be available, deals with many such issues.

[Question] All the same, your movement has still not gained the necessary trust and support of the public. What are the reasons for this?

[Answer] We must not view the public's attitude toward our movement apart from the country's general situation, the attitudes and moods of our divided society and the political and ideological struggle waged within it. Our society is deeply divided and it is impossible because of its division to trust a new phenomenon such as the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth. At the same time, this movement wants to eliminate these divisions and to expand and strengthen whatever is above such divisions, whatever can link us together and whatever is common to us all.

[Question] Could it be that the aversion toward your movement shown by some segments of the public is a result of the conviction that your movement was set up "from above"--on the initiative of the government, party and so on? I often encounter such views....

[Answer] It is the adversaries of our movement and above all of socialism who continue to promote the conviction that our movement was set up from above. This is also a result of attempts to rationalize one's attitude, as already mentioned. Let me add that this applies above all to the intelligentsia. The truth is that our movement was born "at the grassroots level" and "at the top" at the same time. What is important is the movement's ideas and activities and not just the manner in which it was born.

[Question] What are your movement's tasks for the nearest future? Will it possess some mechanisms which will also make its activities meaningful in the changed political-social situation when the sources of our internal discords that the movement wants to eliminate have disappeared? Will the movement be able to avoid the errors of the National Unity Front? Will it be able to prevent being dominated by the state authority, the PZPR, a political party or a social community? This question is an expression of the anxiety of the reader I mentioned at the beginning of this interview....

[Answer] Your question is of such paramount importance that it is worth examining it on another occasion. I propose that we talk about it when the present discussion on our declaration is over. Let us hope that this discussion will enrich the program of our movement, which is just beginning, even though it has scored many positive achievements. We will be able to make more specific statements about our movement's future when it has consolidated and has acquired more experience. Today I can say that no one wants to dominate anyone in our movement and that all the causes it sponsors will always result from comprehensive discussions and eventual compromises. Nor is there any question of making any false shows because we fear them like fire and we do not want any fires....

CSO: 2600/641

BARCIKOWSKI CENSURES UNION OF POLISH WRITERS

AU231128 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 19 Mar 83 p 9

[Speech by Kazimierz Barcikowski, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, at the 25 February Warsaw meeting of party writers: "We Are All Different"]

[Text] The question whether this conference has taken place too late or too soon has kept returning. Some people regretted that it took place too late. Perhaps too late, comrades, but perhaps just in time. Today we have met in a situation in which the party is different from what it was 10 or 14 months ago. And perhaps we all are a little different. The simple fact is that we are gradually shedding that political paralysis which has had such a hold on us for a long time.

Let me state frankly that not so long ago I was unable to imagine that I would listen to party writers for a whole day. The party was busy above all with the socially decisive communities, which does not detract from the importance of literary matters. It is with utmost earnestness that we treat what has been said here. We do not dismiss in advance any conduct vis-a-vis the Union of Writers and we are aware of the priorities mentioned here. Of course, we proceed from the assumption that the laws of the state are above the statute of the Union of Writers and that one should not delude oneself that this statute can protect one against the operation of the law, especially in the dramatic situation in which we still find ourselves.

The crucial question is what will be the continuation of our conference. Personally, I think that the party writers' views on the affairs of their community have created a new situation: We have made it known what our thoughts are and have presented our position. No doubt this action will result in the public's greater support for our position. It goes without saying that this must be followed by our party activities. I share all the views expressed here that it is necessary for us to act wisely in our work in local communities and throughout the community of writers and to stretch out our hands to anyone who is ready to share our views. We are not anxious to gain the understanding of those who have decided to be "enemies." If they have made this choice by themselves we cannot expect that they will cease being enemies under persuasion. But we should realize that our

enemies are greatly outnumbered by the people who are averse to us, who are averse to us, who are embittered and full of pains and regrets as far as we and the world are concerned. It is necessary for us to make contact with such people, without becoming enraged. Every writer we can win represents a great value now and in the future.

I wanted to assure you that the party leadership will most sympathetically consider all the problems raised here, including material problems, and that we will inform the first secretaries of the primary party organizations. The team elected here today should tackle what is most important and urgent together with these secretaries. However, please do not regard what I have said as a great promise. We have discussed our material troubles and the crisis in our country. Everyone knows that one manifestation of this crisis is the drop by 26 or more percent in the Polish people's living standards. If today we proposed a large-scale program for the benefit of writers we would have been highly immoral. This would have been an attempt to buy something under conditions in which there is nothing to buy. That is why I stress that we want to do only that which is absolutely necessary. We also want to establish what should be done in the future when we have pulled ourselves together and have something to share.

As for substantial matters, I think that the essence of our position is that we want the Union of Polish Writers to exist, but that changes must be made in it. Most briefly, we want such changes as that Tadeusz Holju should be a desirable member of the union and that all the writers who are here should be desirable members of the union. This calls for the formulation of the political conditions that should be fulfilled. It is necessary to win the support of larger groups--not only of party groups--in the literary community, for these conditions. Do we have the right to state these conditions? We have this right because it is we, our party, that have assumed the great and simply unimaginable responsibility for the country's destiny in an extremely tragic situation, which threatened a great national catastrophe at any moment. No one can even think of the possibility of repeating a trying situation like that in Poland. And if some of our adversaries and oppositionists should dream of again leading the country to the brink of a tragedy, then only against us! We cannot accept such dreams. It is our duty to oppose them. There is no place for illusions in this regard.

Do we as a party have the moral right to expect self-appraisal on the part of the chairman and authorities of the Union of Polish Writers? Yes, we have, because up to now only our party has continued to self-appraise and criticize itself like a masochist, short of disintegration, and was driven on to do it. But is it only our party that is responsible for what has happened and for the difficulties now facing us? Perhaps there are other agencies that should also feel responsible? For example, the Union of Polish Writers? At least to the extent mentioned here by Comrade Kozniewski? The point is not merely what was done wisely and what unreasonably. Various people did very different things within that time, but it is certain that the Union of Polish Writers did not do what it could to ensure that the

Polish intellectuals would take a more sober look at what was taking place in the country. When one has once entered the area of public activities one must obey the laws of these activities.

From the party leadership's viewpoint the issue of the Union of Polish Writers is a small part of a much larger problem facing us in Poland. I do not want to indulge in simplifications. I know that today the term "party" is of little consequence and that our priority task is to create the facts that would confirm our resolution to carry out changes and reforms, but please note that we are creating these facts by laws and organizational activities. Precisely during martial law the law was passed on very extensive self-government bodies in higher schools. Workers' self-management groups are being reinstated and we are setting up trade unions. Very soon a law on people's councils will be passed. This is no longer words. This is an effort to create legal foundations of a new model of the socialist Polish state, of the socialist state. If someone should think that these reforms will be the road to the past, then this someone is the first who threatens our reforms.

We have a great opportunity to implement the intentions of the Ninth Party Congress, to implement that which our entire party professes. But this is still only an opportunity. We may waste it if we fail to observe our constitutional principles, without which the desirable process of reforms cannot be successful. Danger is posed by those who want to exploit the process of reforms as an opportunity to go back to the old position before 13 December 1981. I do not see that some leaders of the Union of Polish Writers are aware of this danger.

Someone said here that there was a danger of taking Polish literature to the area of capitalism. This sounds like blackmail. But with regard to whom? With regard to Polish literature? Polish literature will remain as it is. With regard to the people, the state? Who should be afraid? Probably those who have such intentions should be afraid most of all. However, there is one thing in the thesis about taking Polish literature to the area of capitalism that is highly probable: certainly antisocialist literature will find itself where it has already been. It is a fact that we see no place for antisocialist literature in our country. We are reforming socialism within the framework of socialism and on the basis of socialist principles, and this does not envisage freedom for antisocialist activities.

This is also a part of a more extensive issue. We are all lost in our own Polish problems—problems of individual communities. We take too little view of Poland's problems against the background of international relations--first of all against the background of East-West relations. At one time someone formulated a more or less reasonable theory of Poland as an area through which values flow from East to West and vice versa. At that time conditions were emerging for relaxation in international relations, and such a flow could appear feasible. Today under the conditions of increasing tensions throughout the world Poland has become an area of great confrontation. And we as a party have the historic achievement of having removed the

threat of war from Poland. However, there is every sign that there are too many forces in the world, especially in the United States, which are ready to combat communism to the last Pole and to do everything to bring about eruptions in Poland. Let us examine all the arguments in favor of sanctions. Why, no one in the West makes a secret of the aim of these sanctions: to choke the Polish economy far enough to bring about an eruption through public discontent. This aim is being implemented with iron consistency. Let us add that just now the U.S. intelligence circles and known cells have launched an attack against the leadership of the Catholic Church and indirectly against the pope for his intended Polish visit, which is supposed to express support for the present order in Poland. This is the point at which the views of perhaps the State Department, the Paris KULTURA and the Polish extremists have fully coincided. All those people who have declared such devotion to our national cause have now united in an attack not only against the party, but against the Church leadership as well. They have united themselves in the name of Poland, of national interests and of this game in which we have been allotted the role of objects. Because we have not accepted this role we are being punished in every possible economic and political way.

It is also in this context that we should view the divisions in the literary community. Comrades, let us not delude ourselves that with the help of very noble phraseology we will be able to bridge those deep divisions that are now present within all social groups, including the literary community. This is a fact. It is necessary precisely for this reason to realize that if we are to overcome those divisions by a certain deadline we must first consolidate our own identity as a party, as party members and as representatives of those forces that have assumed responsibility for the country and, in the name of this responsibility, have the right to demand that their views are respected and taken account of in all aspects of national life.

I began with the party and want to end with the party. Positive processes are really taking place within the party, and I think that you are aware of them. What is more obvious is that the party continues to mobilize itself in its own centers, so to speak. Comrades, if the situation in the communities of literary people is as you say it is and if positions are still very different, then engage in discussions and examine these positions. Trading insults and indulging in pique is useless. Do your work in such a way as to ensure that, as a party, your significance in Polish literature increases all the time. All divisions and all grumbling will result in what is old hat in your community: the further depreciation of party writers. We, the party leadership, are determined to revise thoroughly all the principles of conduct vis-a-vis party writers and the oppositional communities in literature. We are ready to give priority to party writers in establishing their literary positions, but, at the same time, we will impose on them the duty of implementing the party line in the literary community. If anyone finds it difficult to obey this call and regards this duty as too exacting, there is no help for it. It would be a bad thing for us as a party to succumb to such helplessness occasioned by our own contradictions. This does not mean that everyone must have the same views on the

same subject, but the point is that the most important issues must have a common denominator and must possess premises for action.

Ending this speech, I want to return to nonparty people. The struggle for these people is the most important struggle. If we progress in this struggle and if we are able to exploit all facts to isolate our adversary, all the organizational problems connected with the Union of Writers will be much simpler.

CSO: 2600/640

DAILY REPORTS ON MEASURES TO COMBAT SPECULATION

AU231315 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 21 Mar 83 p 5

[Report of the Central Commission for Fighting Speculation: "Against Misuse and Waste"]

[Excerpts] Getting rich at other people's expense, illegal trade and amassing profits through criminal activity are phenomena which are causing a firm protest by society. For a long time, institutions of control and bodies of investigation have been intervening wherever the law is broken, a customer is cheated or the state treasury is tampered with. Our paper tries to report on the results of the control activities as comprehensively as possible.

We present below a report sent in by the Central Commission for Fighting Speculation which discusses the result of antispeculation activities in February.

Antispeculation activities have covered all kinds of trade outlets, eating establishments, domestic goods delivery services, markets, automobile dealers and private trade establishments. Some 2,829 members of workers' brigades and 2,841 members of the Voluntary Citizens' Militia Reserve [ORMO] took part in the control activities which were led by the Citizens' Militia with the help of professional control bodies. An operation known by the codename "Rynek" ["Market"] was carried out throughout the country on 9 and 10 February. Significant results have been achieved as a result of the operation called "Milionerzy" ["Millionaries"] carried out throughout the country with the help of financial bodies from 22 to 25 February 1983. This operation has helped reveal organized speculation as well as speculation carried out professionally and on a wide scale. In February, checks on automobile dealers were considerably tightened, as a result of which speculators were uncovered involved with cars, spare parts and other sought-after industrial goods.

The following results have been achieved as a result of these activities:

--Nine hundred and eight-three preliminary proceedings have been initiated (25 percent more than in January). This includes 500 cases coming under the law on combatting speculation, in other words, 50.8 percent of all cases;

—One thousand nine hundred and ninety-eight indictments have been sent to courts;

—Five thousand three hundred and ninety-six persons have been fined.

In those trade outlets which were checked, 212.128 million worth of goods was uncovered which had been hidden away from shoppers, and 292.406 million worth of goods involved in criminal activity was impounded pending a court decision.

The following are some of the most common speculation crimes which have been revealed:

—The black-market sale of goods bought in socialized trade outlets;

—The sale of goods directly from warehouses or during delivery;

—The forging of ration coupons;

—The hiding of goods from shoppers;

—The accumulation of goods for black-market purposes.

From 29 to 31 January, all local units of the State Trade Inspectorate carried out checks to see if alcoholic beverages are correctly recorded and priced. Some 1,761 checks were made, which revealed discrepancies in 119 cases, which is 6.7 percent of the total number of checks.

The discrepancies which were revealed mainly involved the following:

—Shop and catering establishment personnel hiding alcoholic products to prevent their prices from being raised;

—Stock-taking commissions failing to include alcoholic products in their stock lists;

—A failure by record-taking commissions to preserve ration coupon stubs.

As part of the action to combat speculation and protect consumers' interests, 2,408 checks were carried out, of which 595 involved checking the quality of goods.

As a result of these checks, the local inspection bodies of the State Trade Inspectorate referred 79 cases to the peacekeeping forces; 45 cases to courts to be dealt with under simplified proceedings (including 4 cases to be dealt with under accelerated proceedings); and 499 cases to tribunals (including 11 cases to be dealt with under accelerated proceedings).

In addition, 630 official memoranda were sent to appropriate enterprise managements, including 30 requests to terminate the work contract of persons

guilty of speculation as well as reprimands that these enterprises had failed to keep watch over their employees.

In February, fiscal chambers carried out 375 checks and investigations in private enterprises and among individuals carrying out various forms of economic activity without having filed a tax return or without reporting to the tax authorities any gifts or bequests they had received or any activity bringing them profits. As a result, 320 fiscal offenses were revealed which are subject to the punishment prescribed by the law of fiscal offenses. In connection with these offenses, fiscal offices have received instructions to levy the tax as well as impose fines.

As a result of the checks and investigations, it has been revealed that the State Treasury has been cheated of taxes and fees to the value of 285.245 million.

A Ministry of Justice report says that in January, courts throughout the country tried 698 persons for offenses involving speculation as defined by Articles 221 to 225 of the Penal Code and by the law on combatting speculation. Of these, 192 people were tried under accelerated proceedings. A total of 570 persons were sentenced, out of which 146 were sentenced under accelerated proceedings. During the period 11-28 February, the minister of justice granted four appeals in favor of persons sentenced for offenses involving speculation.

CSO: 2600/656

JUSTICE MINISTRY ANALYZES CRIMES IN 1982

AU241228 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 22 Mar 83 p 6

[PAP report: "Penal Proceedings in 1982"]

[Excerpts] The Ministry of Justice has analyzed the penal proceedings carried out by general courts in 1982, during which over 436,000 crimes were registered. This was more than in 1981 and, as a result, the courts had to deal with over 30,000 additional crime cases last year.

Under martial law penal consequences for crimes were more severe, that is, the number of verdicts of absolute imprisonment for most serious crimes increased. These verdicts were more severe and fines were larger. On the other hand, the punishment of restricted freedom was used with less frequency, which the Ministry of Justice regards as a negative feature. Such punishment should be used more frequently in the present conditions of intensified struggle against social ills because it has educational values.

In 1982 the voivodship courts convicted almost 3,700 persons in summary proceedings, most of these persons having committed criminal offenses, especially burglary and banditry. Some 279 persons were convicted of murder or attempted murder. Death sentences were pronounced in 9 cases and imprisonment for 25 years in 50 cases.

The number of persons convicted for crimes against property increased. Altogether 826 persons were convicted for the most serious of such crimes, namely, underhanded appropriation of property. Most of these persons received sentences of 5 years or more. On the other hand, punishment for collective rape and for especially cruel rape was relaxed, in which connection the Ministry of Justice stated that the courts are now too indulgent toward rapists, as attested to by an increase in rapes.

Between 13 December 1981 and the end of 1982 summary investigations were instituted in the case of over 800 persons in connection with the crimes against martial law. Some 30 persons were convicted for promoting various forms of illegal propaganda. Organizational or directive activities, for which 63 persons were convicted, involved illegal meetings, participation in strike committees and so on. The extension of accelerated penal proceedings, which was a crucial feature of martial law, made it possible to react rapidly and

resolutely to a number of crimes and offenses, especially those infringing on public law and order. The offenses connected with disturbing public law and order during street unrest were a special group of cases dealt with under accelerated penal proceedings. Altogether 159 persons were convicted for participation in such unrest.

The fact that the social situation in 1981 and 1982 was inconsistent with the usual norms makes it difficult rationally to evaluate changes in penal policy. In 1981 punishment was alleviated for various reasons, but in 1982 its severity returned to the level of previous years. If we adopt the number of the persons sentenced to absolute imprisonment as a criterion of the severity of punishment, then in 1972 every third convict received such punishment, but in 1982 every fourth received it.

The Ministry of Justice stresses the notorious lack of serious comprehensive inquiries into and reports on the state of the danger posed by crime, the adequacy of the laws and court verdicts to deal with this danger, the reasons for the poor detection of crimes and the functioning of the penitentiary system.

CSO: 2600/653

DAILY REPORTS CRIMINAL EFFECTS OF ALCOHOL ABUSE

AU230957 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 17 Mar 83 p 4

[Report signed 'Z. Sem.': "Against the Law"]

[Text] To what degree does alcohol have a criminal effect? How many crimes have been committed because the offender, who has overindulged in alcohol, was not in control of his behavior? Did we drink less or differently in 1982 than in past years? The militia's statistics for 1982 should contribute some interesting answers to these questions.

In 1982. 24.6 percent of all crimes were committed by persons acting under the influence of alcohol.

The criminal effects of alcohol are, above all, manifested in murders and acts of physical violence. Intoxicated persons committed some 58 percent of all murders (though this has dropped by 6.3 percent in comparison with last year), 79.1 percent of rape cases, 81.0 percent of robberies, 71.5 percent of fights and beatings and 80 percent of crimes connected with tormenting a member of the family. We can therefore admit that the alcoholism and drunkenness of the perpetrators is one of the main reasons behind this kind of criminality. The majority of these deeds would never have been committed had the perpetrator not reached for a glass.

This conclusion is confirmed by comparing the data from the first and second half of 1982, as 19.2 percent more crimes of this nature were committed during the latter half of the year, while a considerable rise of as much as 53.8 percent was recorded within the group labeled "tormenting a member of the family." This is undoubtedly due to the fact that the rationing of alcohol was eased as of 5 July.

The following data is worth using to compare the last 2 years. It concerns the offences committed by intoxicated people: 265,176 such offences were recorded in 1982, which is 25 percent more than in 1981. Could it really be that in 1982 the citizens who consumed alcohol managed to breach the rules of law and order so much more often? An affirmative reply to this question would surely be too rash a conclusion. It is at the same time necessary to note that greater control over public order, frequent street patrols and stricter discipline at work would facilitate the exposure of many acts which had formerly

gone unpunished. These offences are more frequent: disturbing the peace, drunken driving and working while not sober.

On the other hand, in 1982 there was a considerable fall of as much as 21.2 percent in crimes connected with speculation in alcohol. About 39 percent less (again compared with 1981) such offences were committed by the inhabitants of rural areas, it was noted, where the receipt of stolen goods has had a long and rather disreputable tradition.

The number of offences connected with the illegal manufacture of alcoholic spirits has, on the other hand, risen by almost 100 percent. However, it is worth noting that a departure from the rigorous rationing of alcohol would immediately promote a reduction in the frequency of these kinds of deeds.

CSO: 2600/652

TU BODY HOLDS PLENUM, SHIFTS OFFICIALS

AU302045 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1950 GMT 30 Mar 83

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 30/3/1983--The activity carried out by the trade union bodies and organizations for implementation of the plan set for 1982 and the tasks incumbent on them in mobilizing the working people to implement the programmes and decisions endorsed by the national conference of the party, the economic and social targets set by the state plan for 1983, were analysed by the plenary meeting of the central council of the General Trade Union Confederation in Romania [GTUCR], on 30 March.

The plenary meeting also analysed the preoccupation of the trade union organizations in point of selecting, promoting, training and educating the cadres, the activity carried out for solving the proposals, intimations, reclamations and requests the working people addressed to the trade union bodies in 1982, as also the international activity of the GTUCR Central Council in 1982 and the main goals for 1983.

The agenda of the plenary meeting also included the report concerning the membership and composition of the trade union, the number and structure of the trade unions on 31 December 1982, the report concerning the execution of the budget of the GTUCR Central Council in 1982 and the draft budget for 1983, as well as certain organizational problems.

The plenary meeting endorsed unanimously a set of measures concerning the actions to be taken by the GTUCR Central Council, by the trade union bodies and organizations for mobilizing the working people in view of implementing the decisions made by the recent national conference of the party, held on 16-18 December, 1982, and by the recent plenary meeting of the CC of the RCP.

The plenary meeting released Aurel Duca and Elena Ene from the office of secretaries of the GTUCR Central Council, as they received other tasks.

Maria Ciocan, member of the CC of the RCP, was elected member of the executive committee of the GTUCR Central Council, and secretary, by the plenary meeting. The plenum also elected Constantin Nita secretary of the GTUCR Central Council.

Eril Bobu, member of the executive political committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, took the floor at the conclusion of proceedings.

CSO: 2020/25

CEAUSESCU CONDUCTS TALKS WITH INDUSTRY OFFICIALS.

AU231957 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1908 GMT 23 Mar 83

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 23/03/1983--The analysis of the measures and programmes aiming at lowering the consumption of raw and subsidiary materials, energy, fuel and manual labor, their more judicious administration and capitalization, all while raising the quality of the products, in keeping with the demands and exigencies of the home and foreign markets were the main items on the agenda of the working meeting President Nicolae Ceausescu had on 23 March with executives of the machine-building and machine-tools building industries, electronics, electrical engineering, with experts in research and design in the productive sectors of these branches.

The meeting, held at the exhibition complex in Scinteia Square, was attended by Constantin Dascalescu, Gheorghe Opera, Ion Patan, Richard Winter and Ioan Totu, deputy prime minister.

During the talk with the relevant ministers, with executives of industrial centrals, enterprises and research and design institutes, President Nicolae Ceausescu stressed that real possibilities existed in all the domains analysed to steadily lower the consumption of metal and other materials by redesigning, standardizing and updating products, promoting new technologies and methods, reconditioning spare parts, assemblies and sub-assemblies, reusing secondary materials. Appreciating the results scored he asked the economic ministries, centrals and enterprises to revise the programme elaborated previously so that they should include the new tasks for the entire period of the current 5-year period (1981-1985) paying greater attention to raising labor productivity and improving the quality of production.

CSO: 2020/25

DICHOTOMY BETWEEN SCIENCE, POLITICS DENIED

Bucharest VIITORUL SOCIAL in Romanian Nov-Dec 82 pp 683-688

[Article by Mihnea Gheorghiu: "Science-Politics: a False Antinomy"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in italics]

[Text] According to the American sociological school's definition, /politics/ constitutes a "center of integration of all the analytic elements of the social system." A well-known European professor and jurist has found a formula to suggest the framework of the discussion about the role of human individuality in the ambient social system: "Reality is neutral, consciousness is political."

The electoral behavior of the members of a community in any country is not indicative of the intrinsic being of the voting individual. His so-called political choice is not characteristic, because the programs of the political parties are the result of relations of another social type than those that society imposes on his particular personality. We thus do not want to understand here the civic involvement of the scientist in the sense of a programmed political militant. Because, from this viewpoint, any /indifference to politics/ would be justified when there is no alternative to servum pecus. However, today's world has sharpened the interdependencies between the person who is occupied professionally with public affairs and the creator of intellectual values who serves exclusively the progress of science, to a degree unknown in the past, with their /political/ destinies becoming practically inseparable.

The lives of scientists of great moral authority have never and nowhere been separated from the role that their personality has played in the history of society. Research on the social and psychological mechanisms of the motivation for their authority has always led to the conclusion that all these "great people," aware of their contribution to the "city-state" (polis) in which they lived, had constituted criteria of value of their own in relation to society. And even when we decree that (in the civic sense of the word) political relations do not necessarily exist, we accept that they are /social relations that become political as a result of the act of judgment/ of the individual who, going beyond the event-oriented view of history, is guided by an evolutionistic one. The great people to whom we are grateful for the leaps of civilization from which mankind is now profiting have thus been aware of the intended purpose of their work and successes in the evolution of the human condition, within the framework of the appearance in time of better forms of social and political organization, more favorable to life on earth.

The invasion of technology into all the functions of the social body, starting with the economic systems and ending with the organization of the state, has introduced into all the relations between the members of society a more rigorous separation of the role of the individuals, with the responsibilities being reduced to a minimum sphere of manifestation on the screen of the computer, a sphere with an inevitably reduced range of action. For example, the worker on an assembly line, or the shop foreman in a subassembly section of a machine-building factory complex, or the head of a research laboratory in a chemical factory and so on. They are not responsible for the intended purpose of the ultimate finished product of the big industrial cartel of which their specific area of activity is a part. The social and political indifference of the scientific researcher apparently comes natural.

Do the automation and robotization of the output that bears the signature of the scientist thus also lead implicitly to his depersonalization? Can a directing staff (industrial, political, military and so on) thus count on the consensus in manipulating both his professional action and his civic personality for destructive ends? If the answer is affirmative, the respective scientist loses any moral authority, regardless of whom he votes for as an anonymous citizen.

We must detach ourselves from the so-called "jargonization" of the terms that currently define the concept of politics: affiliation with a political "clan" or with a well-known ideology whose intended purpose is particularized in certain principles of authority or of structure of power, those that determine correlatively the cooperation or opposition in the reference social group. In the case in point, politics is the structural device that organizes the dynamics of a society according to the inequalities present in any social body. The political attitudes (in relation to power) concern the different methods of regulating the coexistence between the constituent groups of society. The participation of the "citizen" also differs, according to historical or psychosocial criteria, from one state to another and from one individual to another.

Under the present circumstances of the scientific and technical revolution, substantial changes are occurring in the current conception of the world, in general, and of political attitudes, in particular, due to the unprecedented growth of the economic interdependencies on a planetary level. The philosophical and social dimensions of the modern scientific revolution are globalizing and politicizing the choices of science and technology.

The history of civilization no longer includes the history of science as a cultural component, but as an active sum of factors determining the dynamics of the progress of mankind. Thus, any revolution in science has prepared a revolution through science. At the 16th International Congress on the History of Science, in Bucharest, it was also said that the history of science--if it is not viewed just as a store of anecdotes or as a chronology--"can produce a decisive transformation in the very image of the science dominant today and, implicitly, of the scientist of the modern era." In a recent Romanian work on the philosophy of science it is pointed out that "the modification of the relations between science and consciousness, so closely connected in traditional culture," is also occurring along with the change in the condition of man in the world.

The scientist's classic responsibility with regard to his work's object and effect, /of a purely moral nature up to now, is also acquiring in today's world a political

dimension/ through the consequences of his activity in the sphere of society's material life and of its history.

From a socioeconomic viewpoint, it seems clear that humanity has entered a critical phase of its evolutive development. The arms race has attained insane dimensions (recognized as such), while the providing of satisfactory living conditions for most of mankind seems more and more difficult. This is the main global dilemma that is confronting today's world: an unprecedented situation in world history, in the history of the states and in the history of the sciences. When the invention of the electric light and of long-distance communications changed the way of life of most inhabitants of the planet (enriching the manufacturers of the new instruments of civilization), no one could suspect that the subsequent scientific discoveries would serve as a detonator for thermonuclear weapons and that the wars of the '80's would be technetronic or would not be. Indeed, one can no longer conceive of modern war now except as a confrontation between the most complicated calculations and instruments of destruction, furnished exclusively by the scientists to satisfy the political and military circles interested in redividing the postwar world.

The big worldwide demonstrations against the threat of all-destroying war no longer require declarations of sympathy and it is an established fact that the majority of the researchers and scientists involved in the new military technologies are morally on the side of the fighters for peace, regardless of nationality, religion or ideology. No matter what else it may be called, this is a political choice, which a typical limit-situation compels, a problem of life and death in the terms of the logic of which *tertium non datur*.

The replacement of the world on the bases of peaceful coexistence and international economic, scientific and technical cooperation raises, right now (in the spirit of the equation: disarmament-development), new dilemmas in the global problems of mankind. The effects of technical progress on material life are endless and profound. Modern technology is presented as "an integral system of social, cultural, intellectual, administrative and political components." Advanced technology does not mean just "sophisticated" machines. The possessors of technical progress will also control social progress, and not just in their countries. A physicist, a professor of the history of science at Harvard University, declared recently: "The effects of the dependency on technology on our freedoms constitutes a main subject; I believe that this is the battlefield on which the battle regarding technology is occurring." The political criterion and choice thus reappear--this time, in the statement of a historian of science.

It was not our intention to point out the new questions regarding the role of scientific and technical research and of technology, which must also be stated within the framework of the global problems of mankind: in energy resources, in food, ecology, the exploitation of outer space and other familiar ones, chiefly the widening of the disparities between the rich and the poor. No one can underestimate the importance and difficulty of this necessary mission. Current technology seems to be one of the great experiments undertaken by mankind, and the defying of it exhibits symptoms with repercussions that are hard to exaggerate. As a member of the Club of Rome, I myself have had long stretches of meditation on this subject, along with my colleagues, in agreement or in disagreement with them.

At the same time, we must agree with those who note that "different cultures, countries, ideologies use technology in a certain historical context; all become

technologized, but often in quite different ways." With this new postulate we enter the infinite area of the role of means of communication and of the contribution of the sciences to the progress of education for international cooperation and peace. The flow of the exchange of data through telecommunication channels has grown 25 percent in the last 10 years and is on the rise. Around 1985, the mass of scientific publications will attain in terms of volume the equivalent of the sum total of the scientific writings from the start of the "Gutenberg galaxy" to the middle of our century. Other aspects of this problem were also taken into consideration at the World Conference on Cultural Policies convened by UNESCO last summer in Mexico City.

In its specific way, the growing role of the scientific works and scientists in reconsidering the concepts of the equation, in promoting the research programs in the social sciences and in developing the cultural relations between countries is also equivalent to a political attitude.

Our conclusions do not claim to reject a false antinomy, now recognized as such by the political sciences, or to implement new, practical means of action, but just to cause a new impulse toward changes in individual or collective outlooks and behaviors in the big world detachment of people of science and culture, in the "spirit of Bucharest," for the sake of cooperation and peace among peoples.

In the World Conference on Cultural Policies, convened by UNESCO in Mexico's capital, there participated the spokesmen of each of the possible definitions of the concept of culture that are being circulated in our century, in a political climate that is declared open to the exchange of spiritual values, in the interest of pacific international cooperation and the democratization of culture.

Mankind has not needed pacifistic and well-meaning statements, according to the saying that "the road to hell is paved with good intentions." Benito Juarez--the classic ideologist of the Mexican social and national revolution--was quoted on the spot by the representative of a great power, for his memorable political formula: "Peace is the respecting of the other's right." A famous quotation, no less well-intentioned. When, nevertheless, since the last world war, this planet has harbored, with horror, a very large number of "local" wars, most not officially declared (of which at least five are in full swing), it is to be supposed that mankind is suffering precisely from the failure of some nations to respect the rights of others. And that modern history is witnessing with sorrow, in some places, the return of civilization to barbarism.

All people confident in the virtues of common sense and in the power of reason have hoped that a high-level international meeting--like the last special session of the United Nations devoted to disarmament--would give without fail the anticipated results and that it would eventually banish the greatest fear in their hearts. However, the game of the callous interests has been stronger.

Field Marshal Moltke himself, although a theoretician of Prussian strategy, stated more than a century ago, "The course of history consists of the approach to peace." Another pious statement, after which the same person "pacified" Denmark, Austria and France. Those who share the globe's "zones of interest," like the slices of a melon, have their motives, of course, which, however, normal reason does not recognize.

We are not pessimistic! The real and enduring forces of world politics are guided by fairer ethical criteria than the wolfish interests. Consequently, new measures of communication, for increasing the mutual trust, must be established among the countries and peoples that reject the alternative of bestiality.

It seems to us that one of these measures is cultural knowledge and recognition among nations, is education of the consciousness for coexistence and cooperation and for "development through disarmament." The formulas are not missing; the content of these concepts is missing; we do not yet speak the same language. We must understand each other! We are convinced that UNESCO's main purpose in convening its conference in Mexico was also the attainment of this goal, written into the world organization's statutes, in fact, and admitted without reticence in the address of the director general and in the speeches of many delegates. Our country's cultural policy itself is a policy for peace, as the scientists from all countries were also able to know very well at this conference. For a humanistic strategy of development!

However, it would be extremely alarming if all the sincere and strong endeavors and manifestations of the widest categories of scientists, scholars and professors, journalists, people of art, devoted servants of the spirit and civilization, which justify our right to hope, were to not succeed in building between them that solid and durable bridge that would unite the hope in the proposed goal and in the struggle against despotic ignorance and high-flown lying, against the rebirth of barbarism.

Because not one field marshal and not one billionaire and not one tyrannical bigot and not another condescending and hypocritical smile in the direction of the person "absorbed in stars," the one who teaches his pupils at a worn blackboard, or who "wipes the dust from the ancient chronicles," or the one enlightened by the miracle of life under his electron microscope, or deafened like Beethoven by a symphony heard only by him, or intoxicated with the foreseeable inflorescence of words forgotten by others (because the Muses are not silent even among weapons), or reviving the universe in a lifeless computer--nothing and no one will be able to remove intelligence--the force and value of the creators of new truths for the good of mankind--from its impregnable pedestal. On a single, supreme condition: if it is known that--overcoming, eventually, their age-old weakness of being disunited--they can be united, now and in the future.

The antidote to barbarism is culture in its broadest sense. To this supreme and noble end, a new appeal is making itself heard in the direction of the people of culture, science, art: Unite, in respect for each's right, and for comprehension! Peace is the best instruction for the present and future hundreds of millions of militants for a safer and more dignified world.

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INJUSTICES AGAINST SERBIAN FARM COUPLE IN KOSOVO RECOUNTED

Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 10 Feb 83 p 7

[Article by Mirko Cupic: "The Troubles of the Old Milosavljevices"]

[Text] Nikic Milosavljevic, a farmer, and his wife Kruna, of the village Repe near Podujevo, have been unable to wrench themselves free of troubles which have plagued them. Everything would have been simple, both age and illness, if it had not been for that worst thing of all. Two years ago this 80-year-old couple lost their son and his wife in a traffic accident, and Nikic's stepson, Kruna's son from her first marriage, the well-known painter and illustrator Radomir Stevic Ras, died recently. The old couple was left without those whom they had and loved, without help and protection. They no longer have the strength to cultivate their own farm, nor money enough to be able to pay workers. The modest pension is hardly enough to buy medicine and pay the cost of going to and from the doctor. Their troubles are compounded still more by old quarrels with a neighbor Alit Trnkoli and members of his household. After the death of his son Mileta, who was employed in the "Grnija" department store in Pristina, Nikic tried to sell his farm and move to town. There were more buyers than he himself had expected, but each of them, after the bargain had been made, was forced to withdraw from his intention because the neighbor Alit had long ago "cast his eye" on his fertile land and had contested everyone's right to buy it.

"I sow clover, but it wastes away unmowed; I sell hay, the same thing happens. People say: 'We do not dare to mow it, Alit has forbidden it.' I returned some their deposit, some did not even ask for it, I understand them completely," Nikic says.

Nothing From the House

The Milosavljevices did not intend to move out of Kosovo. They only wanted to buy a house or apartment in Pristina, to be there with their son. Back some 15 years they had bought a lot on the outskirts of the city, but once again another neighbor frustrated him. He built a fence across the road and prevented him from building a house. The court regularly rendered judgments in his favor, he took down the fences, but the neighbor would always build them back again and threaten him. At that point Nikic, as they say, gave up on a "bad job," before anything worse happened. He sold the lot, and nothing came of the house. The building materials were wasted.

"Now we have nowhere and no one to turn to. We have been left alone, weak and sick. If we had at least a roof over our head somewhere in town, we would leave the farm, the devil take it, the woods have already been destroyed," Kruna says sadly, and adds: "A few days ago our relative in the village sold his farm. We hear that others are also selling, but it seems that no one any longer dares to ask about ours. What are we to do?"

The troubles of the Milosavljevic family are not known to the competent authorities in the Podujevo Opstina Assembly. But how would they be when no one has turned to them for aid and advice, nor have they sought protection against the curses, threats and stones thrown by certain boys in the neighborhood who have been egged on by others, which has become more frequent over the last 2 years.

"It is almost certain that we would have protected those old and helpless people," says an inspector of the Secretariat for Internal Affairs who did not want to give his name. "But no one reported the case to us, nor did they seek help."

Conviction Because of a Complaint

Protection probably would have been forthcoming. We had confirmation of this in a previous conversation about the political security situation in the opstina, though not concerning this specific case, with Jetulah Gasi, chairman of the Podujevo Opstina Committee of the LC [League of Communists]: "Our political and moral obligation, not only of party members, but indeed of other progressive socialist forces, is to fight against all irresponsible acts which could disrupt interethnic relations. I must say that the activity of the League of Communists in certain places has so far been vague and verbal. The reaction to irresponsible acts has not always been equally prompt and coordinated in all places. Certain judicial and other authorities have been tardy in taking steps, which has given some members of the Serbian and Montenegrin nationalities the idea that our mechanism of socialist self-management is unwilling or unable to guarantee unhindered work and life for every citizen."

Old Nikic explained why the Milosavljevices had not gone to the right place and had not told about everything that was depressing and torturing them and embittering their life.

"I see that I made a mistake, but I must confess that I am frightened, I have had a bad experience," the old man says and brings us some court verdicts which have already grown yellow.

"... The accused Nikic Milosavljevic, born to father Milan and mother Cveta ... is hereby found guilty of having on 22 August 1971 provoked ethnic intolerance by having sent a letter to Draza Markovic, president of the Assembly of SR [Socialist Republic] Serbia, in which he expressed elements of hostile content, since he alleged that the Albanians are terrorizing members of the Serbian nationality, are committing arson and are forcing them to abandon 'Albanian areas,' whereby he committed the crime of ethnic, racial or religious intolerance, enmity and discord, pursuant to Article 119, Paragraph 3, of the Criminal Code."

Under this verdict of the opstina court in Podujevo (Book No 131/73, dated 31 May 1973), which was signed by the presiding judge of the panel Mustafa Salja, and on the basis of the charge filed by Mustafa Jasici, deputy opstina public prosecutor, Milosavljevic was sentenced to a year in prison. After an appeal to the district court in Pristina there came a new decision (dated 27 March 1975), signed by the presiding judge Acir Tuhina, reducing the penalty to 3 months in prison. He served the sentence.

Fear of the Consequences

Milosavljevic did actually write the letter in question, he signed it with his full first and last name, he gave his full address. In this awkwardly written letter he said that he had informed all the opstina and provincial official bodies about the problems he was alleging, but that he had not received an answer. He complained among other things of the action of five neighbors who had beaten him in his own yard, causing him to undergo treatment for 45 days, for which no one had been made accountable. After he returned from the hospital he found his house in a shambles. He also referred to pressures, damages in the fields and other damage, but certainly he did not at any point commit an unjustified exaggeration.

"That is why I did not complain to anyone or seek help, since I was afraid of similar consequences. Some people said to me: 'All of that is just in vane,' but I see that that is not the case," Nikic says.

It is obvious that the Milosavljevices were not sufficiently informed that the political climate had changed considerably from what it once was and that the security conditions were increasingly favorable. The competent people in Podujevo Opstina probably will show understanding for the troubles of the old couple who are sick and alone and will help them to overcome and solve their troubles jointly.

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IDEOLOGICAL SCENE DEBATED AT PORTOROZ GATHERING

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1677, 20 Feb 83
pp 10-12

[Article by Milan Milosevic: "An Ideological Cardiogram"]

[Text] To some extent because our world has been significantly politicized, to some extent because empirical facts are more attractive to the ordinary ear than theoretical considerations, our Marxist debates have recently taken the form and displayed the fervor of political discussions. With certain remarks because of improvisation the same can also be said of the Week of Marxist Discussions (organized by the Marxist Center of the LCY Central Committee), which was held last week in Portoroz. The trouble with stupid facts is, as someone has said, that they can bring down even a theory of genius. Which is why critical thought and Marxist elucidation of reality are a condition without which the LC cannot play its revolutionary role in society.

For that reason Mitja Ribicic, who was invited to address this gathering, was perhaps right when he said that underestimation of Marxism is among the principal causes of our shortcomings. We have had penetrations of statism, nationalism or liberalism at times when theoretical sluggishness has prevailed.

The Intellectuals and the Party

Another weakness of the LC, Ribicic said, is that it is not the principal vehicle of Marxist reassessment of the contemporary scene and the past, and that is why various scandals occur and there are various attempts to discredit our past or evaluate it in anti-Marxist terms. Our anti-Marxists are in no respect different from the anticommunist movements in the world. There is speculation with theses to the effect that Stalin was not solely responsible for Stalinism, but shared that responsibility with Lenin, and since Lenin learned from Marx, there is blame to be found even in Marx. There has been the thesis: self-management yes, but self-management without Marxism; the Socialist Alliance is all right, but without the League of Communists. There have been a series of assertions to the effect that our country is ruled by anti-Stalinist Stalinism, Ribicic remarked.

He called for particular attention to criticism that the LC is an anti-intellectual party. To be sure, in all the worker parties there is a critical

attitude toward the intelligentsia, which sometimes has been justified, and sometimes not. There is a need for a critical analysis of that anti-intellectualism, but these people would like to prove in the case of Krleza and other examples that anti-intellectualism is a programmatic orientation of our party, Ribicic said.

Ribicic advocated that it be clearly stated that certain things which must happen are not the goal of our policy. Here we have Poland's bad experience--the Polish party did not divorce itself from the system, and it went down along with the system.

Sometime later in the discussion, as he was illustrating the thesis that pragmatism has always been our party's greatest weakness, Ribicic said that today there is agreement in the LC on the basic commitments, there are no differing ideological views as to what the causes of the situation are and where we are going, but when someone is supposed to depart from his own programs, that is when the problems arise.

He illustrated this assertion with a sincere sentence of Mika Planinc, which runs approximately like this--When I was in the Croatian LC Central Committee, we pledged that we would not borrow anymore, and that was when we borrowed the most.

Relating how after disassembly of the Federation the statist relations were retained to the greatest degree at the republic level, Ribicic observed anecdotally, without beating about the bush, that almost every Monday there was a meeting of the presidium of some republic central committee in which a report of the executive council was discussed. That is where the plans were made.

"Investment decisions from Kerting to the Olympics were made at that political level."

The gist of this lively and lucid exposition of Ribicic's can be boiled down to the sentence that the LC must free itself of the tieup of the party with the state and current economic policy. The party must be a force which opens up prospects for development. Having said that the SIV [Federal Executive Council] had obtained support for its measures, that the idea of rationing coupons had been supported, he emphasized that it has to be clear that these measures will not build a new society.

"I agree that when the house has caught fire it should be extinguished, I also agree that the fire should be put out by the firefighters, but I say that the firefighters are not the ones who should build the house," Ribicic said.

Along with these and many other details Ribicic announced the next plenum of the LCY Central Committee, which in the jargon is already being called the "political plenum." On the basis of what the first among the equals at the top level of the party said, this could be a plenum embodying an ideological offensive, a plenum for analyzing consciousness, but also a plenum at which the balance of power in our political life would be analyzed. Ribicic also uttered a sentence to this effect: The LC is responsible for keeping the

balance of power in the advantage of the working class, it is responsible for creating the alliance of the working class with the other segments of the population, with the peasantry, with the intellectual stratum, with the other parts of our society.

Another reason why this is indispensable is that the way out of the current situation can be found only if the movement of the working class becomes more vigorous over a lengthy period of time.

For 2 years now pressure has been exerted on the standard of living and behavior of the working class, this shows that it is conscious of the difficulties and is supporting the effort to overcome them. Ribicic uttered a paradoxical sentence like this one: "We should have confidence in our [working] class!" (Presumably the opposite would have been logical), but precisely that logically reversed sentence contains a diagnosis concerning the orientation of the working class toward self-management.

Now let us see how that panorama of consciousness looks from the angle of a survey of public opinion.

Zoran Vidojevic, director of the Marxist Center of the Serbian LC Central Committee, has come to the conclusion that the first essential characteristic of the consciousness of the Yugoslav working class is the markedly majority commitment to self-management as the form of its own emancipation. Some surveys nevertheless show that this commitment is somewhat less than in the case of the supervisory stratum, but that ultimately most of the working class does not accept any of the other models for restoration of society, whether it be the statist model or the bourgeois model.

Another essential characteristic of the present consciousness of our working class is that class's dissatisfaction with its social status, the material living conditions of a majority of the workers, and especially with the treatment of worker occupations, working conditions and the asocial prospects. There are hardly any workers who would want their children to be workers. By and large this dissatisfaction is historically progressive--and a majority of the strikes have displayed the feature of this progressive dissatisfaction of the working class. However, it is not precluded, unless the LC takes action to change the situation, that various forms of class protest aimed in another direction will begin to gain strength.

One of the concealed forms of the struggle of the working class to change its own position in life is manifested in part both as absenteeism and political withdrawal, although the causes of these phenomena are quite complicated.

Srdjan Dosen sketches the causes of the "self-management silence" this way: Remuneration according to work has not been achieved as it should have been, our people mostly compare themselves with the West, we are turned only toward income, but not toward product quality in the sense of meeting higher human needs; legal regulation has not grown to become a tradition; there is a fetishism of the state and government agencies abroad, and the intervention by the government is pronounced....

Zoran Vidovic attempted to identify the class demands of the working class: they demand first of all concrete personal responsibility for every decision which has broad social consequences. Radicalization of the demands of the working class is also directed against social inequality with class features. Justified dissatisfaction is manifested because of growing social inequities, especially those based on some form of theft of public property. This demand is intertwined with egalitarian tendencies in the direction of "leveling." Given our conditions, it is not impossible that such a consciousness could turn toward the model of statist socialism. Some surveys show that it is by no means negligible in the consciousness of some of the social strata and groups, that it has the halo of a "just society," of a society of "equality and full employment." Commitment to a return to "capitalist society," Vidovic feels, has no great chance, at least in the consciousness of the worker strata.

It seems that a dichotomous picture of the class structure of society is dominant in the consciousness of the working class. In the most recent survey of the "determinant of the political commitment of members of the LC," which is just being conducted by the Center for Political Scientific Research and Public Opinion of the Social Sciences Institute in Belgrade and the Marxist Center of the Serbian LC Central Committee, 32 percent of all the respondents (30 percent of the party members and 34 percent of the "others") feel that our society consists of two classes. The structure of society is seen most frequently as a division into "those above" and "those who are below," the leaders and the rest.

Neoliberalism, Neoconservatism, the New Right

The most essential thing is not that this picture is one-sided and objectively inaccurate in sociological terms. The essential thing is that this picture reflects the social status of those who adopt it.

An essential segment of the present panorama of social consciousness is certainly the "bourgeois syndrome" developed under the influence of the contemporary societies of organized capitalism, which are putting pressure on the "scarcity socialism" with overpowering technology, exhibitions, goods and consumption. This consciousness follows from group-ownership relations and ranges from surviving liberalism whose basis is petty ownership, via "modern" technocratic-corporatistic visions, to bigoted forms such as chauvinism and racism.

In the Week of Marxist Discussions one morning was devoted to criticism of liberalistic, statism and especially nationalistic phenomena, which, it seems, have been the most evident.

We will turn the reader's attention, however, to an analysis of the structural crisis and contemporary ideological currents in contemporary capitalist society, which was presented in an inspired way and with a shower of facts by Misa Nikolic of the Marxist Center of the LCY Central Committee. Some of the content of contemporary capitalist ideological currents are also manifested in our country, either because they have been imported or because our conditions engender them.

Under the influence of the crisis, a class compromise such as the conception of the New Deal, the "welfare state" and social democracy began to disintegrate in the seventies. The middle classes in Italy, for example, were in the sixties on the side of the working class, but in the seventies they turned toward the right. That is indeed why the Italian CP had to reassess the policy of collaboration with the Christian Democrats, who have an influence on the middle strata.

In the political sphere there is talk about a crisis of rationality, a crisis of legitimacy, a crisis of democracy, a crisis of social identity and of the legitimacy of the party....

In the ideological sphere during the time of the welfare state the irrational content of bourgeois ideology was in the fifties displaced by rational ideologies; these were the years of the "miracle," the "German miracle," the "Japanese miracle."... However, in the seventies the rational content of bourgeois ideology was again replaced by irrational content.

Frozen Spirit

The new ideology for general use is bringing neoliberalism, neoconservatism and the New Right onto the scene. In my opinion, Misa Nikolic said, we have the wrong idea here of a liberalism which is equated with democracy, and in our political vocabulary the expression "pseudoliberalism" is used for a liberalism which is perhaps good, but this one of ours is no good, since it is a kind of caricature, and people forget that liberalism is the opposite of democracy. Liberalism is the system of the free market and free private initiative. Democracy, however, presupposes mass participation in decisionmaking and restriction of the market....

There is an evident strategy toward strengthening of the state, development of a technocratic system and an essential suppression of democracy. Zbigniew Brzezinski speaks about the "possibility of managing democracy."

The New Right goes further in launching the "right to differences" and speaks against the mixing of culture, about the separation of elites, and so on.

Attention should particularly be paid to the therapies which are coming out of this kind of political-ideological constellation. An attempt is made to essentially reduce the demands and expectations of the population, the liberalistic thesis "every man is responsible for his own fate" is being revived, and it is asserted that it is impossible to rule with so many demands and so much democracy, social institutions are the first to come under fire, and in Great Britain they include even the public schools.

The point of this recapitulation of development in the contemporary capitalist world is to help us to read the significance of our own moves more easily. Have we ourselves, for example, not had proposals made for the health service to be financed by private payments? "Would it not be good if we devised a strategy from need," Misa Nikolic says.

Prvoslav Ralic calls attention to retrograde forms of our social consciousness. The ethnic question has become agitated at this point because it has remained where it once was. Everyone has some central fictitious image of his own, some "ethnic spirit" which has become frozen. We must defend ourselves against the nationalists within our own selves, Ralic says, emphasizing that there are too many flags of regions, flags of separateness.... Have we forgotten to read the program of our own party? It says that the interethnic spirit is a necessary complement to ethnic consciousness.... Note that it says "necessary complement."... Instead of our drawing up a program based on interethnic spirit without negating the ethnic consciousness, we concern ourselves with our own separatisms. We have given the satirist a pretext for writing the aphorism: "Those who have brought us here will guide us still further" ... Ralic says.

Vladimir Milanovic recalled the regeneration of the consciousness of archaic societies, that is, he said with rhetorical provocativeness and irony, that primitive consciousness which, as you know, does not exist at all in our society. Yet he did point to one mentality inclined to authoritarian discernment. In answer to the question of what you would do if you received a bad directive: 22 percent of the respondents would carry it out without objection.

The Range of Crooked Arguments

One other observation he made also needs to be conveyed to the reader. It is enough, he says, for some sociologist or philosopher to present a topsy-turvy thesis, to put a loaded question, or well-known politician to begin then to argue with that philosopher instead of solving problems.

Vladimir Goati argued for "weighing" (measuring) at least the more significant ideological currents to see what their range is and what their points of support are. Otherwise, as Lefebvre says, we will have a "dramatization of political consciousness." One or two articles or books will become the central problem of Yugoslav society, Goati observes.

He also mentioned a study on the factors involved in the commitment of party members which Zoran Vidojevic also commented on. The first results from the Belgrade segment of the Yugoslav sample shatter the impression that former members of the LC (who number 1.3 million) are the social nucleus of processes opposed to self-management. All of 40 percent of the former members declared that they would like to become members of the League of Communists once again! In the level of their civic activity they are close to members of the LC.

About 40 percent of members of the LC and almost 18 percent of the former members are very intensively involved in civic affairs. Yet this kind of involvement is reported for only 5 percent of nonmembers.

Prvoslav Ralic also touched upon an obviously controversial field of "nonmaterial production" in expressing the assessment that the LC made a mistake in having concerned itself predominantly with government and having left the most subtle topics to "divided labor" (science and culture) and unnecessarily created a difficult partner for itself. It has been excessively concerned with real power relations instead of having a vision, Ralic says.

Fuad Muhic criticized those who belong to the "radical Marxist current," who, in his opinion, are on the offensive. This "leftwing liberalism" is to be seen in certain journals and public writings. He called attention to statements by Zagorka Pesic and Ljubomir Tadic in certain journals. Ljubomir Tadic, Muhic says, says that the political legitimacy of the LC must be verified in general elections, and that has ties with Djilas's ideas.

A mass of ideas of this kind are getting by with relative ease, as indicated by the warning of the Serbian LC Central Committee. Some intellectuals privately agree with them, while some are keeping them as a kind of strategic reserve, Muhic says.

Given the small space and the inaccuracy of notetaking, in the pile of statements which were made (it is possible we have been unfair) perhaps one can see a simplified sketch of the panorama of the consciousness of Yugoslav society. Certainly it will help the reader to at least partially decode the speech of our public life. This can be of considerable importance under present circumstances. Discussions of this kind, if they were better prepared, could help to elucidate current public events and a true picture of the situation.

And a true picture of the situation can make an essential contribution to directing social and political energy in the right direction so that a calm assessment might be made as to whether it is worth getting excited when a philosopher at the end of an interview utters this farewell: "See you in October!" Or does not pay.

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